

# *Review of* INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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### TEN YEARS OF THE REPUBLIC AND INDEPENDENCE

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# Review of INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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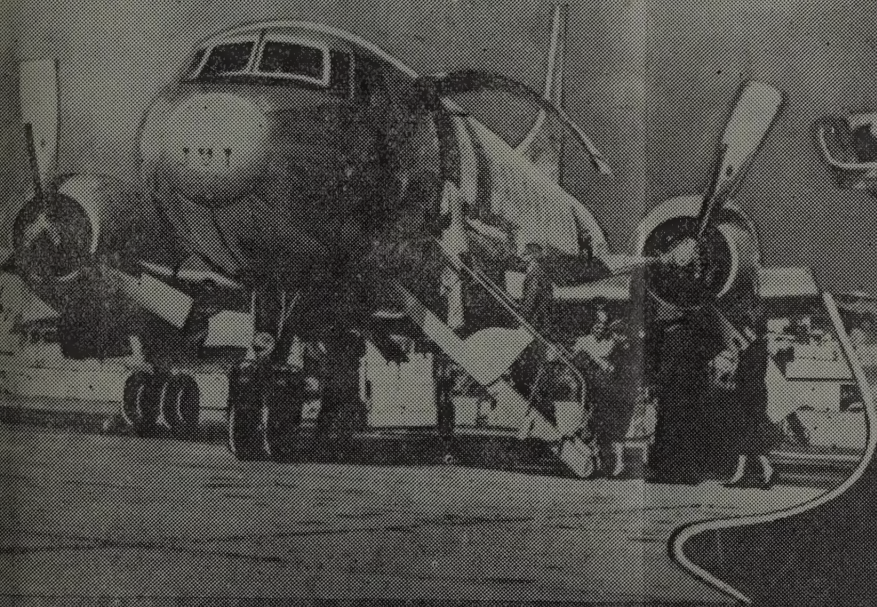
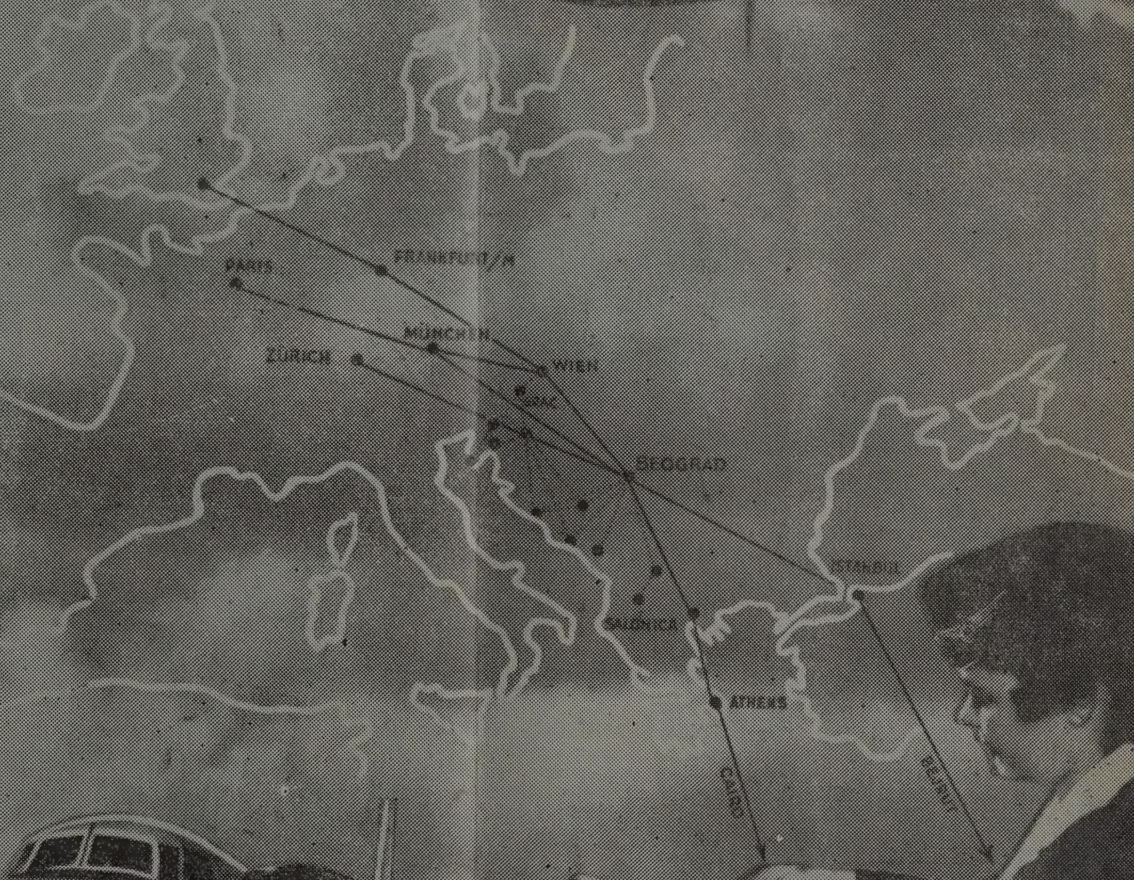
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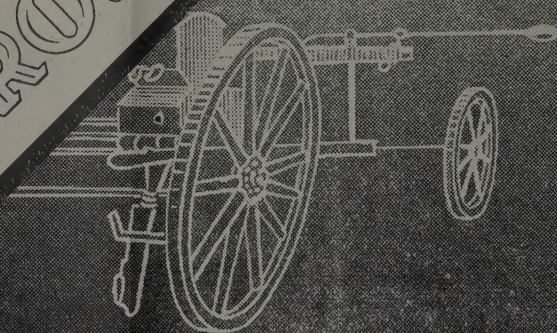


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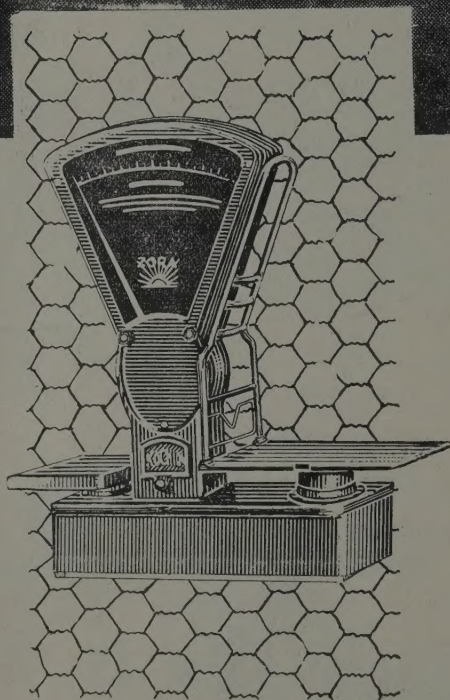
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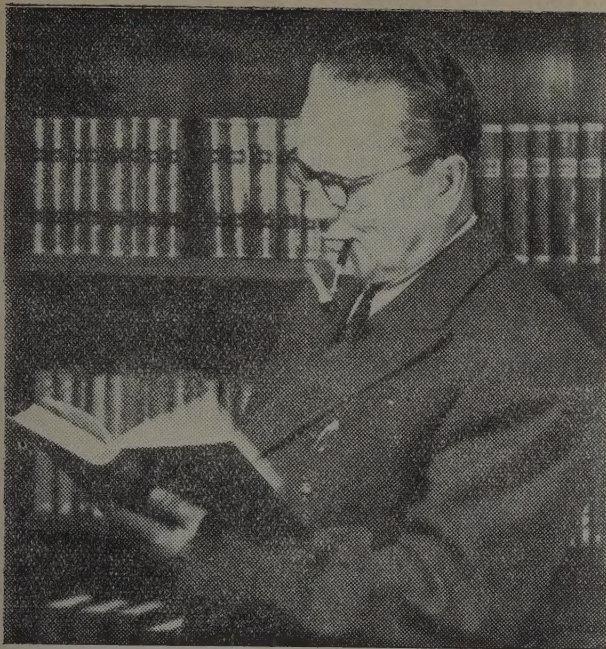
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## The First ten Years of the Republik and Independance

IN the fall of every year our people celebrate November 29 — the anniversary of the Second Session of the Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia and of the proclamation of the Republic — as our National Holiday. Every year this date gives us an opportunity of looking backward to the point from which we started and to the road which we have since followed. November 29 is a day on which we celebrate the victories of the revolution in Yugoslavia, on which our people sum up — before their own conscience and before history — the achievements they have accomplished in implementing the great socialist ideas in our country's life and in international relations.

This year an important jubilee falls on November 29. A decade has passed since the People's Assembly in Belgrade proclaimed the Republic. Accordingly, we cannot but reflect how great a work a people can achieve if it is free in its internal development and independent in its international relations.

In history text books a decade is so short a period that it is lost in the continuity of centuries. But in our own time, which is characterized by epoch-making discoveries in nuclear science, a decade becomes an important division of time, particularly if we consider a country in which a socialist revolution is the essential lever for its development. The feat achieved in one decade of the Yugoslav state development, which has no precedent in the past centuries, is therefore, not a surprising thing, which is to be looked upon with disbelief, but a logical outcome of the age in which we live — a feat of historical importance for socialist development, for the life of our country, because our people have been daily making great efforts for the affirmation of their new life.

The seeking of specific roads has been the basic characteristic of our revolution from the beginning, and this ensured our revolution from being retarded by alien forms and patterns that could have been artificially transplanted on our soil. The independent road of our country has been the constant checking of new forms of socialist development, the carrying out of the great ideas of the classics of Marxism, ideas which have not been applied and realized anywhere else in the world yet. It has become a byword for free development and progress independently of the established rules and fihed authorities, and Yugoslavia's experience is an eloquent proof of the correctness of the view that every people should choose independently its road toward socialism, accepting foreign experience only in so far as it is in accord with the conditions under which it lives.

Chronologically, the start of Yugoslavia's independent road of development coincides with the beginning of the struggle for liberation, and it was particularly strengthened

by the decisions of the Second Session of the Anti-fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia on November 29, 1943, which, for one reason or another, were not to the liking of many people abroad but which, as a true expression of the will and unanimity of the people, were a historical affirmation of the federal community of the Yugoslav peoples. On this road of independent development the proclamation of the Republic on November 29, 1945, was only a logical expressions of the people's determination and of the already achieved results. Subsequently it was necessary to build the heavy industry as an essential basis for the transformation of Yugoslavia from a backward and agrarian into an industrially developed country. This decade of efforts and sacrifices saw the attainment of this fundamental aim: Yugoslavia has acquired a new economic basis and thus increased her economic strength. Together with this, a process of de-etatization went on, in which decentralization was consistently carried out, and the principle of self-government in the country's administration and economy became an essential characteristic of our socialist social order, as well as the chief incentive to further revolutionary progress. The Law on Workers' Self Management realized an idea which — apart from the attempts of the Paris Commune — had never gone previously beyond the stage of theoretic definitions. By establishing the system of local communities — the communes — as fundamental social and economic cells, which, in view of their rights, are without a precedent in history — a basis was created for the future enriching and increasing of the efficacy of the self-government of the working people.

In the international field the first decade of the Republic was a decade in which Yugoslavia's struggle for peace and for the policy of independence and equality of all peoples was fully affirmed. Adhering to the principle that sovereignty, self-determination and independence are the inalienable rights of every nation and a *conditio sine qua non* of their successful development, Yugoslavia has been endeavoring to contribute her share to the improvement of international relations and to the respect of the principles proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations. In this, Yugoslavia has never wavered in her principled policy, although the aspirations of the great powers have often been creating difficulties. During the cold war, when economic, political and psychological barriers between different peoples were set up, and when threats and ultimatums were daily occurrences, the positions of the chief rivals in the world arena were gradually being equalized, so that ultimately a balance of power was established when both sides came in possession of atomic weapons. That was the culminating point of the policy of contention, and all were placed before the following alternative: either the further sharpening and a war, or



the easing of tension, peace and coexistence. Further events showed that common sense prevailed, and that realism had pushed the risky plans and calculations into the background. Many moot issues, which for many years after the war had been a cause of discord, were settled, and various contacts have since been established which promise the strengthening of cooperation and friendly relations. If the idea of coexistence became inseparably linked with peace and social progress, then the struggle for coexistence is invariably connected with Yugoslavia, India and other countries in Europe, Asia and Africa which are now an important force in world affairs.

This decade of independent Yugoslav policy has placed Yugoslavia among those countries whose voice is listened to

and respected, although her reputation is not based on strength or reserves of atomic weapons. Yugoslavia's authority is of a moral and political nature, because she has never been ready to back up unjust pretensions. A consistent fighter against the policy of blocs, Yugoslavia has shown how an independent policy can be important for every country, as well as a bridge between all tendencies towards economic and social cooperation.

This decade of the Republic and independence — which brought so many successes in socialist development and in the affirmation of Yugoslavia as an active and valued member of the international community — will remain an important period in the history of the revolution, of the work of the people and Tito.

## Ten Years of Revolutionary Development of Our Parliamentary System

Vladimir SIMIĆ

Vice-President of the Federal People's Assembly

AT the present time, on the eve of the tenth anniversary of the proclamation of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, justified efforts are being made to explain, through the press and other suitable means, those events of the past which were of great significance for the state, social, political, and national development of the Yugoslav people. The fact that the Republic has been in existence for ten years imposes the need to analyze the activities of individual institutions and to review the methods used in solving different social, political and cultural problems, so as to draw the necessary conclusions and benefit by the past experience. Since all changes in the state, legal, social and political structure of new Yugoslavia have been effected on the basis of laws and regulations passed by the People's Assembly or by other institutions authorized by the Assembly, there is a natural wish to survey also the work of the Assembly, i.e. parliamentary life in Yugoslavia.

But it is impossible to make such a survey in an article of even exceptional length (statistical data concerning the number and variety of laws and rules passed by the Assembly alone would cover the space granted for such an article), and it seems to me that it would not, correspond to what is in other spheres of our complex social life necessary on the tenth anniversary of the Republic.

First of all, the existence of the People's Assembly, as the fundamental representative body in our Federation, is only formally reckoned from November 29, 1945. On that day it held its first meeting as a Constitutional Assembly at which, expressing the sovereign rights of the historically re-united peoples of Yugoslavia, it proclaimed the Federal People's Republic. Actually, this representative body of the Yugoslav peoples existed long before that date. Therefore, its tenth anniversary was celebrated in Jajce two years ago, on November 29, 1953.

All this does not involve only a difference in time. This historical fact explains all the essential characteristics of the parliamentary system in our conditions, and of our parliamentary life, if we are to use this conventional term.

Under our conditions we understand all the developments and events of different and complex contents, but in dealing with our parliamentary system we can disregard them all except those which determined, not only the organization of this system, but also the principles upon which it is based. The roots of our parliamentary system are, shortly said, to be found in the National Revolution. Its origin is of a revolutionary character. This fact is of a decisive importance for all relations which were established, when this system came into being in the state, national, social and political spheres. The principles of sovereignty, self-determi-

nation, equality, freedom, political and social self-government, brotherhood and unity of the Yugoslav peoples as fundamental aims of the revolutionary struggle, were being implemented as the parliamentary system itself developed, both in the internal field (liberation of the country, new people's government, organized armed forces, etc.), and in foreign relations (common war and peace aims with allies in war). The essential nucleus of new state organization was created even before the usual formalities were carried out. This explains the fact that only three months after the war it was possible to convene a meeting of delegates of a vast majority of the people (First Congress of the People's Front of Yugoslavia — on August 5, 1945), and to elect, three months later, on November 11, the Constitutional Assembly on the basis of general, direct and secret ballot. This further explains how this Assembly could at its first meeting proclaim the Federal People's Republic before it passed the constitution (on November 29, 1954). Finally, this explains the fact, unusual in international relations, that the new Yugoslav Republic was recognized before it had its own constitution.

The revolutionary development which introduced fundamental changes in the national, state and political relations of our people are the chief characteristics of our entire life. The spirit of these developments came to full expression also in the Federal Assembly, which is the „representative of the people's sovereignty, and the highest organ of the Federation" (Art. 13 of the Constitution). This spirit did not weaken in the first decade of its existence. Efforts to reconstruct the country and to establish new social relations, which in this decade were initiated in the Assembly, were always backed up by the people who are now politically united in the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia. On the basis of this powerful support of the people, the Assembly is constantly perfecting the instruments of direct socialist democracy, expanding the rights and duties of the citizens in their ever increasing participation in the country's government and in the managing of their social affairs, — all on the basis of persistent and constant developing of the material foundations of their freedom, equality and independence.

A survey of our parliamentary work, as I said at the beginning, cannot even be attempted in an article of this length, for it would involve the consideration of the principles and practice of socialist democracy under the condition in which our socialist society is being developed. In such a survey we would also have to study certain weaknesses and many difficulties in this development, which the parliamentary system, with all its characteristics, will gradually eliminate and overcome.



## The Sudan on the Eve of a Great Decision

L. ERVEN

THE people of Sudan are faced with a fateful decision which will open a new phase in their history. In a few months' time the people of Sudan will decide by free vote according to the principle of self-determination whether this former Anglo-Egyptian condominium will enter a union with Egypt or form an independent state. In either case, a new state, a new member of the international community will be born on this vast African territory.

This event is doubtless of major historical significance for the people of Sudan who will at last acquire their sovereignty after a long and turbulent history. But this event is also significant, however, for the entire international community and system and provides yet another instance in the post-war period of the victory of one of the fundamental principles on the basis of which this system should be consolidated, i. e., the principle of self-determination of peoples. The Sudanese state, either independent or in union with Egypt, will be another state created by peaceful means and the application of democratic methods of self-determination.

This would be a suitable occasion to say a few words regarding this new state which will be created by the forthcoming vote in the Sudan, its people and history.

The Sudan covers an extensive territory located in the Eastern part of the African continent, between Egypt, Ethiopia and the Red Sea with an area of 970,000 square miles. It is sparsely populated as there are only about 8,000,000 inhabitants on this vast territory. The natives of Sudan live in tribal settlements and primitive villages. The small urban population is concentrated in a few larger towns among which one should primarily mention Omdurman, with 125,000 inhabitants, once the capital of the short-lived state of Sudan. Khartoum, with 75,000 inhabitants, is the present capital of the condominium, El Obend has 70,000 inhabitants, while the population of about ten other townlets ranges from 20-40,000 inhabitants.

Sudan is an undeveloped agricultural country with widely differing geographical conditions. As a rule there is very little rain in the Northern part of the country, the soil is only cultivated around the Nile which feeds the surrounding land periodically or where an irrigation system has been established. The central part is the most fertile and developed with regular rainy seasons and the most advanced agriculture. The most unfavourable conditions prevail in Southern Sudan. Large areas are covered by marshes swarming with Tse-tse flies. The vegetation is exclusively tropical while scarce production caters only to local requirements. Communications between Southern and Northern Sudan are bad, there are few transport facilities, thus rendering access to Southern Sudan difficult.

Millet is both the staple food and the most important crop of the Sudan natives. Wheat is only cultivated in the irrigated areas and is sold in towns for the consumption of the urban population. Oil is extracted from the abundant crops of sesame seed. Dates are cultivated in some parts of central Sudan but export are still on a comparatively low level.

The principal export headings include cotton, resins, livestock, goats and pelts, as well as other less important articles. Cotton is mostly cultivated in the central province of Cordofan. Resin is extracted from a special kind of wild Senegalese acacia which abounds in the Sudanese forests and is known as gum arabic.

Mineral wealth is negligible, or perhaps still insufficiently explored, natural power sources and industry are also lacking except extremely primitive workshops for the partial processing of cotton, leather and oil.

It ensues therefrom that the Sudanese economy is still at a very low level and that crops are mainly contingent on weather and climate conditions, rains and floods.

Nevertheless, the Sudan succeeded in acquiring a favourable balance of trade during the past few years which amounted to 22,000,000 Egyptian pounds in 1951. However, this figure is rather a result of the low living standards of a country where there is practically no demand for industrial goods, than economic prosperity.

The population of the Sudan does not represent a national entity, and differs in race, language and religion. The greatest differences prevail in this respect between the North and the South. The inhabitants of Northern Sudan are Semites (Arab), of Moslem faith belonging, as most Egyptians, to the Sunnite sect. Their language is Arabic. The Southern part of the country is inhabited by Hamite negroid pagan tribes speaking several languages related to Ethiopian.

There is also a broad gap between Northern and Southern cultural and living standards although the latter are still far from advanced in the North. However, Southern Sudan is undeniably characterised by a primitive way of life, tribal organisation and pagan customs.

All these differences between Southern and Northern Sudan are due to racial and religious disparities, geographic and economic conditions, and the consequent uneven rate of development. These conditions were also maintained by the system of condominium administration which was more active in Northern than in Southern Sudan. The educational system is also more developed in the North. All the major towns, as well as the economic and cultural centres are located in Northern Sudan or, to be more precise, in its North-Eastern part, which is watered by the Nile floods. The vast majority of Sudanese natives employed in the central administration hailed from the North. All these circumstances inevitably resulted in a certain degree of antagonism between the North and the South and broadened the already notable gap between these two parts of the country. Almost nothing at all was done during the sixty years of centralised Anglo-Egyptian administration to alleviate this disparity between the North and the South, so that the new Sudanese state will immediately be confronted by this problem, rendered all the more acute under conditions of independence and intense political activity, and it is also most likely that the first difficulties it encounters will stem from the contradictions between the North and the South.

The Sudan first became the object of neighbouring and other political interests in the beginning of the 19th Century. Two countries in particular were keenly interested in the Sudan, and both finally established a system of joint colonial possession by setting up their joint condominium. However the Sudan was already previously subjected to sixty years of Egyptian occupation.

Initially the Sudan represented a contiguous territory, inhabited by people of a similar race, language and religion but divided into various tribes, without an organised system of government or army and hence easy to overrun. Their first motives were predatory and their prime objectives domination and plunder. At that time, moreover, Egypt was



only a Turkish pashalik. It was only much later, when Egypt had already developed into a modern state with a clearly defined foreign and economic policy, that it realised the real significance of the Sudan which lies in the economic unity of the Nile valley.

British interest in the Sudan is of a later date and appeared after the opening of the Suez Canal and the entry of the British troops into Egypt. This interest was primarily strategic, as the Sudan, contiguous to the Red Sea, represented a strategic area for the security of the British imperial routes and its dominions in Asia.

The Sudan was occupied by Egypt in 1821 under the rule of the then Turkish regent and subsequent founder of the Egyptian dynasty, Mohammed Ali. This occupation also lasted 60 years and marked a difficult period of oppression and ruthless exploitation by the Egyptian pashas and corrupt officials for Sudan. Egypt itself was torn by internal strife, political unrest, economic chaos and bankruptcy at that time. In 1881 the leader of a religious sect named Mohammed Ahmed organised a revolt and defeated the weak occupying troops. He proclaimed himself ruler of the Sudan in Khartoum, thus marking the inception of an independent state which actually introduced little that was new in the life of the Sudanese people.

A new expedition to the Sudan was organised by Lord Kitchener after the entry of the British troops into Egypt. This exploit took place in 1896 with an Anglo-Egyptian corps. The „pacification” of the Sudan lasted three years and ended in 1899 by a battle in which Ahmed's successor, Caliph Abd Alahi, was killed.

After the establishment of occupation in the Sudan, a treaty on condominium was concluded between Egypt and Great Britain, according to which military and civilian administration was discharged by a Governor General appointed by the khedive of Egypt on the proposal of the British government. The Governor was British while the administration was entrusted to British and Egyptian officials.

Initially the Anglo-Egyptian administration in the Sudan could rather be described as colonial than that of a protectorate. There was practically no participation of the native elements in local administration. Only the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936 which regulated the Suez canal regime and the limitation of British occupation in Egypt provided for certain measures aiming at the gradual development of self-government in the Sudan and the introduction of Sudanese natives in the administration. A subsequent measure provided for an administrative reform by the division of the country into nine provinces while administrative councils and a Sudanese Assembly were established in the post-war period. The first political parties were also formed at that time.

The establishment of an Anglo-Egyptian condominium actually marked the inception of Sudanese independence, although obviously not set up for this purpose, as this joint occupation could only be maintained by the unity of the occupying powers.

Egypt attempted in 1951, within the frame of its dispute with Great Britain, to abolish the condominium by its unilateral decision to repudiate the 1899. Treaty and proclaim King Farouk king of Egypt — and the Sudan. However, Egypt was unable to enforce these decisions in practice. Great Britain did not accept this repudiation, nor recognize the new title of King Farouk, or evacuate its troops from the Sudan; nor did she recall her Governor General for that matter. On the other hand, even if she had wanted to, Great Britain would have been unable to convert the condominium into a British protectorate, primarily because she needed the agreement with Egypt in view of the Suez and her positions in the Middle East, and because the time when protectorates were established by force had passed. It was finally obvious that after the outbreak of the Anglo-Egyptian dispute this condominium could no longer be maintained.

These circumstances resulted in the conclusion of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of February 1953. Under this agreement both sides recognized the right of the Sudanese people to independence, provided that, following a three year preparatory period during which it would enjoy internal self-government, it decides whether it will enter a union with Egypt or establish an independent state. This three year term expires next spring and voting will take place under the control of an international commission into which the Sudanese Assembly elected Yugoslavia, India, Pakistan, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Sweden and Norway. Both

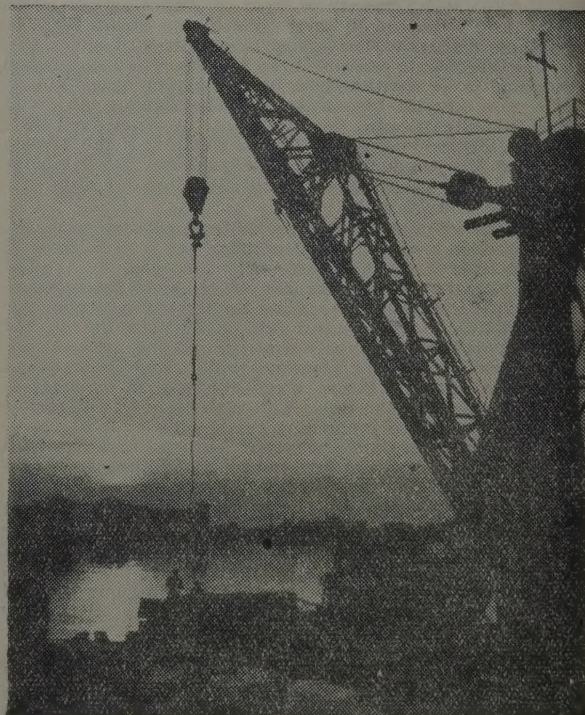
partners in the Sudanese condominium expect that the Sudan will decide in their favour. The Egyptians expect that most Sudanese will vote for union with Egypt, thus achieving the unity of the Nile valley and Egyptian irrigation system which is of paramount economic importance, beside the other political advantages such a union would offer. Great Britain expects that the Sudan will vote for independence. The young and independent Sudanese state will need foreign experience, support and assistance. It may reasonably be expected that it would primarily seek this aid and support from Great Britain, which also took part in the life of the Sudan and created many friendly ties there.

There can be no doubt that both partners in the condominium will endeavour through the influence they exert in the Sudan to ensure the victory of their respective theses. Hence the significance of the international commission designated to ensure the objectivity and freedom of vote in the Sudan.

Union or independence, this is the fundamental issue which arose in the Sudan already during the period of condominium and around which the nuclei of two political movements were formed: one for independence, represented by the UMMA Party, and the second for union, represented by the National Union party. The latter obtained a strong majority at the 1953 elections and its leader El Achari formed the subsequent government.

However, the leadership of the party split in the meantime, as one part headed by El Achari abandoned the programme of full union, and approached the programme of independence. The other part of the party, under the leadership of Vice President Mohammed Noradin, remained loyal to the union programme.

Which of the two programmes will win at the voting is a matter which the Sudanese people are to decide freely. Any interference under any pretext whatever by a foreign power or interest, in an issue which is an internal matter and sovereign right of the Sudanese people, would be contrary to the interests of the Sudanese people and the international community alike. However modest the political experience of the Sudanese people who was deprived of the possibility to decide on its fate so far, it will know, and should be enabled to chart its course by itself as it is only in this way that sound foundations will be ensured for the new state, which is both in the interest of the Sudan and the international community in general, since the latter will acquire a new member.



Detail of Industrial Development



# Aspect of Atomic Physics

Charles Noel MARTIN,  
expert for atomic physics

We publish the first part of a study by the well known distinguished French atomic physicist Charles Noel Martin in this issue. The next two instalments will appear in our following issues.

THE acumen of Greek philosophers, who by simple reasoning reached the conclusion on the atomic structure of matter doubtless provides one of the finest examples of human genius.

Discovered and re-confirmed by contemporary physicists after a lapse of twenty-five centuries this conception of the elementary limits of matter was widely diffused thus beginning to penetrate even in the broad public. We know that no part of anything is divisible ad infinitum and that at last we will find the atom as the ultimate content of all matter.

The fate of the atom is strange indeed. Discovered twenty-five centuries ago, sentenced to complete oblivion for two thousand years, only to reappear suddenly as an object of fear, respect and hope.

This strange and unexpected revival was brought about by scientists at the turn of the century, while acquiring full citizenship exactly half a century later after the end of a terrible war.

Half a century of feverish work from Becquerel, Pierre and Marie Curie in 1896 to Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945 led to the thunderous release of an inconceivably great quantity of energy deriving from matter itself. Only nine years have elapsed from the first atom bomb to the coming into operation of the first nuclear electric power plant for industrial requirements, located in the vicinity of Moscow.

We are today witnessing an unusually rapid progress in the field of scientific discovery. The scientific resources set at the disposal of civilisation are growing steadily so that we sometimes tend to measure the degree of development of a nation by the number of kilowatt/hours generated, which is moreover absurd, as the potential of a country is primarily contingent on the people and not of the volume or power of its machinery. Scientific achievements are soon applied in practice and we are currently witnessing a hectic race in the construction of laboratories which will enable the discovery of a never-ending series of new technological methods, processes, etc. which will soon play a dominant role in the lives of our children and our own.

We may be certain that whereas electricity needed fifty years to bring about far reaching changes in everyday life, the atom will need less than ten or twenty. It may be interesting in this context to analyse some general matters and see to what extent one may reasonably foresee future developments in this field today.

We will not dwell on nuclear problems of general significance which cannot be compressed within the framework of this brief study, as at least a whole volume would be necessary to outline the dynamic activity of science in the world of the atoms and its nucleus. Apart from this, these facts are all too topical to avoid distortion through inaccuracy and emotional lies which imbue the leading scientists of today who founded „schools“ bearing their strong personal imprint.

Let us revert to the beginning of World War II. In 1937, according primarily to the results of research published in Paris by Mrs. Joliot Curie and Professor Savič, the German scientists Hahn and Strassman discovered the uranium fission in Berlin. This was a new process which differed greatly from the usual nuclear reactions, as it involved the splitting of a very heavy nucleus under the impact of neutron bombardment (a neutron is a component particle of the atom nucleus). This uncharged particle has the advantage that it is unhampered by the electric repulsive effect of the

nucleus, which it has no difficulty in penetrating, thus usually rendering its structure labile and leading to the ejection of another particle, or group of particles and releasing surplus energy. This is a typical nuclear reaction. In the case of nuclear fission of a heavy uranium isotope U-235 (consisting of 92 protons and 143 neutrons;  $92 + 143 = 235$ ) which becomes extremely unstable after absorbing the neutrons, the nucleus splits in two, thus releasing notable energy during this nuclear explosion. A large number of neutrons is freed. Thus beginning from 1939, after intensive research carried out in Berlin, Paris, Copenhagen, Stockholm, Cambridge and in America, atomic physicists knew that it would be possible to set off a chain reaction by bombarding the nucleus of Uranium 235 with neutrons (natural uranium consists of 140 parts of U-238 and only one part of U-235) thus freeing other neutrons which would split the neighbouring nuclei and result in the release of a vast quantity of energy in a certain specific mass, i. e. the so-called „critical mass“ of uranium.

Such was the situation before the war, while research was on an enviable level, as Professor Joliot and his collaborators patented the use of atomic energy in Paris, while a group of Soviet scientists advanced the theory of nuclear fission at the same time with the theory formulated in Copenhagen by Niels Bohr and Viller. It would be a mistake to believe that the war greatly accelerated the creation of a scientific team for research in this field, thus ultimately leading to the explosion of the first atom bomb in 1945, but it is correct on the contrary that the various European laboratories would have continued with their feverish research, and that the first atomic mushrooms would not have appeared much later than at the climax of the war effort in Chicago in 1942.

Whatever the course of events, the decisive role of Albert Einstein in this respect and his letter to President Roosevelt are well known already. The atomic scientists who emigrated from Europe, including Enrico Fermi and Leo Szilard were well aware of the prospects of explosive nuclear fission. They submitted the draft of a letter to Albert Einstein which the latter agreed to sign and send to President Roosevelt, calling his attention particularly to the fact that the German scientists had progressed to the same extent as the other atomic experts, thus warranting the suspicion that they would direct their research towards the creation of a super-bomb capable of destroying an entire port or city, while at the same time releasing an enormous quantity of radioactive elements similar to radium.

Thus exactly on August 2, 1939, the foundations were laid for the crowning achievement marked six years later by the Alamogordo explosion on July 16, 1945, when the world first atom bomb was exploded. The industrial balance achieved in America was truly admirable. An élite scientist team without precedent, was rallied in the greatest secrecy, and their achievements led to the construction of big factories, and were crowned by the explosion of the super-bomb. Dare one believe that all this was done only for the success expected? It is considerably difficult to believe this. Although the entire technical history of this undertaking is outlined in the famous „Smith Report“, published in 1946, the world public is still waiting for a similar report on the deeper motives underlying this gigantic exploit. A particularly dense veil of mystery surrounds all German wartime activities and achievements in the building of the super-bomb. It is only known that a premature but extremely effective test was carried out by a group of distinguished



German scientists, who directly followed the operations of the German army. What did they discover? Nothing precise is known yet, while certain pointers indicate that they led to serious and surprising discoveries which were held in the greatest secrecy, thus precluding the possibility of rendering unwitting service to the enemy and also stave off a future which could already be discerned at that time.

According to recent reports, it seems that the Nazis had atomic weapons ever since September 1944 and that at least one nuclear explosion was set off on the Baltic Sea. Why then were the V-2 guided missiles in the January-April period 1945 devoid of a built-in atom bomb? Perhaps only a mere technical detail was in question: perhaps a sufficiently light fuse was lacking, which as known, constituted the greatest stumbling block which confronted the American scientists during the last months which preceded the initial A-bomb explosion. After the dramatic explosions in Hiroshima and Nagasaki on August 6 and 9, 1945, the war was ended with the birth of a new weapon with which mankind had to count in the future.

Ten eventful years have elapsed. While not embarking on a survey of international policy on this occasion, we can say that the various developments had one essential point in common, namely the nuclear armament race. From 1945 to August 1949, when the first nuclear explosion in the Soviet Union took place, all progress can be summed up as the perfecting of inventions to which lesser attention had been devoted in the 1942-1945 war effort, the creation of a small A-bomb stockpile as a result of the Bikini and Eniwetok experiments in 1946 and 1948 respectively. The Russian bomb in 1949 provoked a real wave of panic and gave the incentive for the invention of far more powerful bomb called the Hydrogen or thermonuclear bomb.

It is strange that the H-bomb was theoretically studied since 1938 while nuclear fission was still known to warrant the hypothesis of an A-bomb. Thermonuclear processes, known also as fusion processes, as distinct from the fission process, are identical with the processes which enable the wonderful release of solar and stellar energy. The H-bomb is the result of active cooperation between nuclear scientists and astrophysicists, in which two extremes, the atoms and

the stars, joined forces. Fusion consists in the accumulation of particles or light nuclei which are at the top of the periodical table of elements, while fission involved the splitting of heavy nuclei at the bottom of the periodic table. Both processes release an enormous amount of energy, but while the former is limited by the existence of a critical mass, the second is unlimited. Nevertheless, fusion is only possible at extremely high temperatures equivalent to those which prevail in the centre of the solar mass (5-15 million degrees heats are achieved by the explosion of an ordinary A-bomb, which to a certain extent explains why the latter preceded the H-bomb).

The race for the perfecting and creation of bombs with an ever greater destructive power capable of annihilating whole cities, and even whole countries, the size of an average European state, by radioactive dust is one of the prime characteristics of our time.

In point of fact neither A nor thermonuclear bombs are super-bombs with a ten thousand or ten million times greater effect than the former two-ton chemical bombs. They are actually entirely new bombs whose real nature is not always fully understood by peoples, governments and general staffs. It is no less a fact that radioactivity is an extremely complex phenomenon, entirely new to human knowledge, and which received far too little attention. We will study this problem in greater detail and all that refers to the peaceful use of atomic physics.

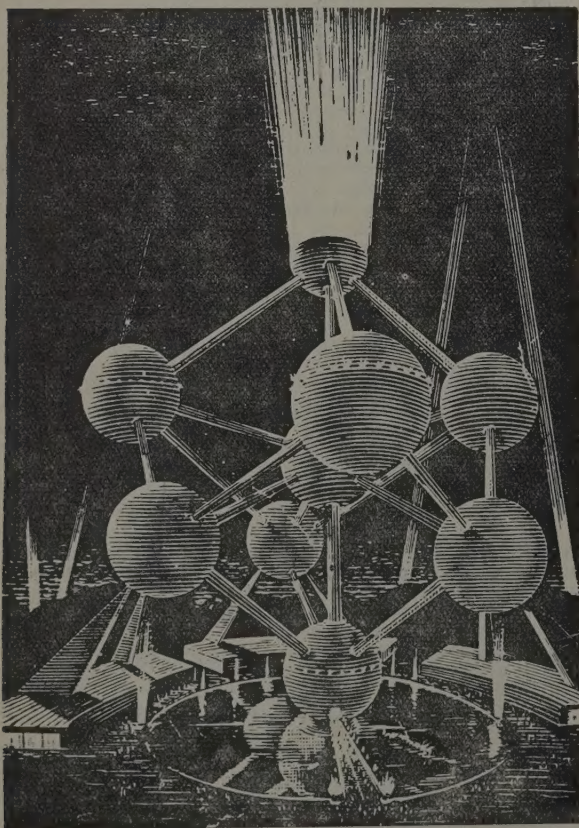
We want first to stress in this introductory part which is conceived as a historical outline, that the world witnessed a highly alarming race in the stockpiling of H and A super-bombs in the 1945-1955 period. It was only recently that the study of the peacetime uses of nuclear energy attracted the serious interest of the responsible, primarily private industries. This was partly due to the growing pressure of public opinion, whose anxiety and misgivings were provoked by the increasingly frequent A and H bomb experiments, which reached the truly impressive number of 90.

We know that thermonuclear weapons, which are a thousand times more powerful than the nominal Atom bomb exploded on Japan, was simultaneously discovered in the United States and the Soviet Union. On November 1, 1951, a real hydrogen bomb (based on the fusion of hydrogen isotopes) was exploded on the island of Eniwetok in the Pacific, while a lithium bomb was set off in the Soviet Union in August 1953. The latter was probably suitable for transport, this being a technical advantage over the American bomb which weighed 60 to 70 tons and was therefore too unwieldy for transport. A series of five explosions with an entirely new type of bomb, far more destructive and a real demonic invention of its kind were effected on the island of Bikini in March, April and May 1954. It should be stressed in this context that H bombs can vary greatly in type having undergone fundamental and technical improvements. Generally speaking this is not the case with the conventional A bomb which contains a mass of U-233 or 235, or plutonium 239 which can set off a chain reaction (plutonium is the original element No. 94 which was recreated by man as it soon disappeared in nature owing to its short radioactive life). This mass weighs only a few kilograms and its energy depends primarily on the cohesion of the metal shell of the bomb at the moment when the intensive heat of its explosive filling begins converting into steam.

As distinct from the atomic there have already been several versions of the H bomb whose effect it is impossible to calculate theoretically, because only experience can show whether the bomb is usable and which part of the total possible energy can be released.

The American series of tests conducted from March to May 1954 showed that the actual quantities of energy released were always 3-5 times higher than expected. This is certainly due to the fact that unforeseen new reactions take place in these minute particles (atoms), where extreme pressure and temperatures (much higher than in the centre of the solar mass) are achieved within a fraction of a second.

The whole world soon learnt of the misfortune which befell the crew of the Japanese fishing boat *Fukuryu Maru* after the explosion of March 1, 1954. This gigantic explosion (but not with a maximum energy) set off a mushroom of highly radioactive dust which spread over an area of 20 kilometers, covering the ship and the adjacent group of islands inhabited by 20 American technicians and 230 natives with a fine layer of radioactive particles. The noxious effects of radiation on these 250 persons have not been disclosed in detail by the Atomic Energy Commission, but the events which befell the Japanese fishermen, as well as the physical and meteorological phenomena observed over Japanese territory from March to December 1954 took place



Model of iron atom



after the series of atomic experiments conducted in the Pacific.

We now know that these bombs were only partly thermonuclear; in fact the experiments were carried out in the following order: fission-fusion-fission. The first stage involved the explosion of a conventional A bomb with nuclear fission. This explosion creates the necessary temperature which divides the fusion cycle of light elements that surround it. These reactions release a vast number of high speed neutrons which on their part cause the nuclear fission of Uranium 238 (i. e. ordinary uranium no longer the rare isotope U 235 contained in the metal bomb shell. The so called cumulative energy is only released by the third reaction. However the highly radioactive fission products soon contaminate hundreds of square miles by their radiation.

Lastly, this recent series of test explosions which was concluded by a gigantic explosion on May 5, 1954 whose radioactive products were discovered above the Andes in August 1954, was followed by a second series of Russian experiments which took place from August to November in Siberia, to be concluded a few days ago by the last explosion of which the British experts affirm that it was carried out by conventional nuclear fission, but as powerful in effect as the Bikini type H-bomb of 1954.

This is a brief and extremely incomplete survey of atomic armaments during the past ten years. The United States, Russia as well as Great Britain now dispose of an apocalyptic arsenal consisting of various types of bombs whose explosive power is unlimited and sufficient to destroy practically the whole world. Apart from the destructive bombs, there are also very light nuclear projectiles weighing only a few hundred kilograms which can be transported

by all types of fighter aircraft or heavy artillery. The energy released ranges from five kilotons to 40 megatons. A ton here implies one ton of TNT (trinitrotoluol). The Hiroshima and Bikini bombs were equivalent to 20 kilotons, or 20,000 one-ton TNT bombs. A third degree bomb of 40 megatons releases two thousand times more energy than the first atom bomb, or in other words, it is equivalent to 40 million tons of TNT. It is interesting to note in this connexion that the total weight of bombs discharged by aircraft during the entire duration of World War II from 1939 to 1945 upon Germany, France, Italy, the Balkans, Austria and Sicily totalled 2,500,000 tons, or the equivalent of the energy released by the smallest experimental Hydrogen bomb, which is still fifteen times less than the 40 megaton super-bomb.

This illuminates a fact which should always be borne in mind when reviewing contemporary world events and the political balance of nations. In case a spark should cause a new conflagration, the United States and the Soviet Union, as well as Great Britain, will soon be in a position to cover the entire globe with hundreds of bombs which not only to the ground within a fraction of a second, but also release contain enough destructive power to raze the biggest cities enormous quantities of radioactive elements with a long-term effect. These elements can exterminate life and render entire regions inaccessible, while their consequences, as demonstrated in our next article would be felt by future generations, thus precluding the very existence of mankind in the future.

(In the next issue we will publish the remaining parts of this study by Professor Charles Noel Martin, the well known French nuclear physicist.)

## Reflections on the German Problem

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Professor Cole of the Oxford University wrote this article for our review which we publish an an interesting view on the significant problem of German unification. Professor Cole analyses the main aspects of this problem after the failure of the four power foreign ministers conference in Geneva to reach agreement on this issue.

FEEL no disappointment at the failure of the Foreign Ministers' Conference to discover any basis for agreement about the problem of Germany. At no point did there even appear to be any prospect of an agreement. The Russians could not be expected to accept unification of Germany on terms that would not only leave Western Germany a partner in N. A. T. O. and a member of the Western military alliance, which is clearly and even openly directed against the Soviet Union, but would also involve the probability of the East German Democratic Republic being swallowed up by the West, and of a re-united Germany being thus firmly integrated into the Western bloc. As for the Western countries, there was no sign of a willingness to go back on the plan to re-arm the Bonn Republic as a part of the N. A. T. O. forces, or to resign the ambitions to bring the whole of Germany under a Government that would be simply an extension of the Bonn régime. It was to be expected that each of the four Foreign Ministers would do his best to appear as a supporter of German unity and freedom and to represent his own side's solution as the correct, peace-loving way of bringing this unity about. But there was never any real likelihood of a means being found of reconciling, or of compromising between, the directly opposed views of the rival blocs.

Therefore, assertions of disappointment at the failure of the Conference can be no better than pretences; for neither side can really have expected the other to give way. Personally I regret this; for I have been throughout, and remain, irremediably opposed to the re-armament of Germany either as a member of the Western bloc or on any other terms. I belong to the body of British Socialist opinion that considers the re-armament of the Bonn Republic in alliance with the West as liable seriously to add to the danger of war and to a recrudescence of German militarism in most menacing forms. Nor would my attitude be more

favourable if the re-armament were to be authorised without any commitment to N. A. T. O. At some point, no doubt, Germany is likely to be somehow re-united under a common Government; but I can see no good reason why the Germans, whether unified or not, should be allowed to re-arm. My own hope is for a neutralised Germany, associated neither with the West nor with the Soviet Union, but guaranteed by both and free to trade with the whole world and to govern itself internally as its citizens please, but still subject to international control in respect of armaments and political relations with other countries.

I am therefore altogether opposed to the policy put forward by the Western Foreign Ministers on principle as well as because it seems to bar the way to all possibility of an agreed solution. Even apart from the re-armament issue, I am opposed to the notion that the problem can be solved by holding „free elections“ over the whole of Germany; for this, under present conditions, would simply mean the liquidation of the East German Democratic Republic and its absorption by the Adenauer régime. What, we have to ask ourselves, would such absorption involve in practice? It would mean undoing the social revolution that has occurred in Eastern Germany and restoring the landlordism and capitalism that the revolution has destroyed. Above all, it would mean an attempt to re-instate in East Germany the abominable feudalism of the old system of landed property, involving a complete upheaval in the countryside and a return to the discredited institutions of nineteenth-century Prussianism, as well as the demolition of the structure of social ownership in the industrial field. Such changes could hardly be made without provoking resistance amounting to civil war; and are we to expect that the Russians, in such a situation, could be prepared to stand aside and allow the East German Revolution to be undone by force without intervention to save it? I cannot understand how any Soci-



alist can be so blinded by hatred of Communism as to be prepared to take sides with capitalism and feudal landlordism in compassing its overthrow. I do not pretend to like Stalinist Communism or to defend many of the measures that have been taken in Eastern Germany under Russian inspiration and control. But I do thoroughly approve of the liquidation of East German landlordism and of the basic measures of socialisation that have been carried through in Eastern, but not in Western, Germany; and I am certainly not prepared to abet the Western Powers in any attempt to undo these basic elements of social and economic change.

Indeed, I cannot even wish to see Germany unified if unification is to mean the restoration of landlordism and capitalism over the whole country, any more than I can wish to see weapons of war-making put back into German hands. In „free elections“ over the whole of Germany the West could clearly outvote the East. Western politicians argue of course that this would be simply a case of a majority democratically outvoting a minority, which ought on democratic principles to accept the verdict, whatever it might be. I cannot see the matter in this light. Why should the East Germans, who have had their revolution, allow it to be undone by West Germans, who have failed to transform their social and economic system and have been busy instead whitewashing and reinstating Nazis.

What I want most to-day is to see the détente between the rival power blocs carried further, to the point at which each side has become fully aware that world war is out of the question because it would destroy the human race. If, as I believe, the rival blocs are not yet ready to agree on German reunification on terms consistent with such a détente, Germany had much better remain as it is for the time being than be unified on conditions that would mean either its absorption into one or other bloc or the recovery of its freedom to manoeuvre between them as an independent military power.

Although the British Labour Party has officially supported the re-armament of Western Germany, I believe that hostility to it is still strong among British Socialists. Most of them have indeed ceased to say much about it, regarding the issue as settled as far as it can be within the Party at present, but not liking the prospect any the better for not seeing what more they can do to oppose it without being accused of disloyalty to the Party's decision. On the question of German unification, a clear party opinion can hardly be said to exist. The matter has hardly been discussed at all, except in conjunction with re-armament: there has been no attempt to work out that the consequences of unification would be, either politically or in the social and economic field. This, I think, is because hardly anyone expects it to come about in the near future or sees much point in arguing about it without any real knowledge of future conditions in Europe. There are, of course, some who, being fanatical anti-Communists, are prepared to back any and every project for dislodging the Russians and liquidating the East German Republic; but I do not think they constitute anything approaching a majority among supporters of British Labour. The majority vaguely expect that Germany will be re-united some day and vaguely favour such re-union on grounds of national self-determination, but have no positive ideas of how it is to be brought about and no sense of urgency in relation to it. After all, Germany is not the only divided country, though it is the nearest and the most important. A similar problem exists in Korea and in Indo-China, with effects that are no worse than inconvenient from a world standpoint; and in these cases too the possibility of agreed unification appears to turn on a general improvement in relations between the Soviet Union and the Western Powers.

If this attitude appears unduly negative, is there anything positive that can be done to reduce the danger of warlike „incidents“ on the frontiers between these divided countries? In the case of Germany I think there is. Much more important than immediate unification is the definitive settlement of the future frontiers of Germany as a whole. Instead of postponing this issue and thus encouraging irredentist movements inside Germany as it is, it should be possible for the Powers to agree that the Oder-Neisse line is to be taken as fixing once and for all Germany's eastern limits and to require acceptance of this line from both the existing German Governments. This, indeed, would almost certainly require agreement about the territorial limits of Germany in the West as well as in the East — that is to say, a settlement of the Saar issue as well as the confirmation of the Oder-Neisse line; and this, I know, has been made more difficult by the result of the recent plebiscite in the Saar. The French, however, can hardly continue to hope that it will be possible to keep the Saar lastingly apart from

Germany; and an agreed settlement between the French and West German Governments certainly need not be regarded as impracticable in conjunction with a general delimitation of Germany's frontiers in conjunction with the Soviet Communism but Socialism in any form. That is why the danger of a militarist revival in Germany would be substantially reduced and something would have been done to clear the road for tackling the outstanding issues. The obstacles in the way of unification would still be formidable; but the Germans would at least know more clearly how they were placed and be less likely to fall victims to irredentist orators calling them to prepare themselves for a war of revenge.

I am quite unable to believe that the accession of German divisions to the N.A.T.O. forces is of any real account, both because I do not believe that either N.A.T.O. or the Soviet Union can any longer be meaning to allow itself to be impelled into a new world war and because such a war, if it did come, would be fought under conditions that would bring it to an abrupt end before any decisive struggle between the massed ground forces on the two sides could be engaged. The insistence of the Western Governments on German re-armament is not really based on military considerations: what they really want is not a German army, or a German contingent in a N.A.T.O. army, but rather a political integration of Germany — or at least of Western Germany — into a West European political group sharply marked off from the countries on the other side of the „curtain“, and thus serving as a bulwark against not only Soviet Communism but Socialism in any form. That is why the so-called „Europeans“, who are working for a federalised Western Europe under capitalist leadership, are also the keenest advocates of re-arming Western Germany, and remain blind to the danger that a re-armed Germany may prove to be a renewed threat to the peace of Europe on its own account.

I too want an united Europe, but not on these terms. The united Europe to which I look forward will be a Socialist Europe, United Western Europe means disunited Europe, and therewith continued subordination to the United States and increasing power for that arch-enemy of Socialism, the Roman Catholic Church. It connotes national Labour movements which, putting anti-Communism above Socialism, make themselves thereby the dependents of capitalism and incapable of uniting the working classes in their support — for example, in France and in Italy. It makes nonsense of the struggle for Socialism and reduces Socialist programmes to secondary developments of the Welfare State — secondary, because they offer no challenge to the continuance of the capitalist foundations of Western society. It also constitutes the Western countries the supporters and allies of reaction outside Europe against the rising forces of democratic nationalism in Asia and Africa, and also in Latin America. Socialists who are prepared to ally themselves with capitalism and feudalism in pursuance of a world anti-Communist crusade have in my opinion no right to the name of Socialists.

I say this, not as a Communist: I am a libertarian Socialist with a deep hatred of all forms of authoritarian centralisation and *gleichschaltung*. I am, however, most of all an internationalist and an opponent of capitalism as a world force; I cannot, therefore, wish to see Germany, entire or divided, integrated into a Western bloc. I do not pretend to know whether the long-run effect of such absorption would be to establish a Western Europe united on a basis of hostility to Socialism or a recrudescence of German militarism as an independent force capable of being directed against either the Soviet Union or the rest of Western Europe. Both these outcomes would be equally unpleasant, and equally disastrous to the progress in the world. On all accounts it is desirable for Germany, the chief provoker of two calamitous world wars, to remain disarmed as long as the danger of further world war continues to exist at all. What urgency is there to re-unite the Germans under a common Government until we can feel reasonably assured that they will not before long be back at their old games, either dragging us into war with the Soviet Union in order to regain their lost provinces or, seeking to reach an accommodation with the Soviet Union — in order to resume their imperialist designs in the West? Where no settlement of the German problem seems practicable at present without these dangers, it is surely best to do no more than fix definitely the German frontiers and leave the other questions unsettled until they can be dealt with under more favourable conditions of less tense relations between the rival power blocs of East and West.



# Social Unity and the system of social Self-Government

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Social theory is long since beset by the paramount problem of reconciling local self-government and the state, democracy and centralism, freedom and etatism, the need for unity with the ever increasing claims for rights not only of citizens and individuals, but also of collectives, institutions and organisations. Some philosophers and statesmen adopted a septical attitude, considering this problem irresoluble. Others adopted a pessimistic outlook concerning man and his abilities, proclaiming the state, etatism and centralism as the only correct and realistic conception of human society, and its organisation namely, the only solution under conditions marked by the complex and technically developed modern society, or the only possible creative force for the organisation of socialist society. This ideological thesis received different theoretical interpretations with the passage of time, from Plato via Hegel to contemporary theoreticians and statesmen. The third group of thinkers, basing their conception on various ideological or ethical postulates, ranging from naive idealism and utopianism to contemplative materialism, idyllic love of mankind or hatred of the state, proclaimed the absolute and immanent value of human freedom and self-government which can be achieved by the abolishment of the state, etatis and all centralised social or political organisations.

There are examples that the present social and political system in Yugoslavia is being contemplated from such and similar standpoints. While not dwelling on the motives and ideological background of certain criticisms and objections voiced, we will only deal with the most concrete and important problems in this respect, i. e. whether it is possible to ensure the necessary unity of society in a system of broad social self-government in general and whether the appropriate forces and mechanism which ensure this unity exist in Yugoslavia.

In order to reply to this question is so far as it refers to Yugoslavia, and this can only be done by establishing the „concrete truth“, it is necessary to give a brief survey of the social and political system of this country and its mechanism.

In point of fact the Yugoslav social and political system can be characterized, as is usually done by most Yugoslav writers as a mechanism of direct democracy and social self-government. What does this actually mean?

In the first place, as stated in the new Yugoslav Constitution of 1953, this means that the basis of the social and political system in Yugoslavia consists of: a) social ownership over the means of production with the right of producers' self-management over the socialized means of production, b) citizens' self-government in the political and administrative system, c) social self-government, particularly the self governing commune as the basis of the social and political system.

On such a basis the economic organisations, enterprises in industry, transport and trade as well as various forms of peasant cooperatives in agriculture, are invested with economic and legal independence thus constituting the basic autonomous cells of the economic system. Social ownership over the means of production and the principle of workers' self management require a change of relations between the state and economy and a modification of state functions in the sphere of economy, including also the character and volume of economic planning. No one, including the state, is entitled to any absolute and unlimited rights with regard to the social means of production and distribution of social products. These rights, generally speaking, are divided on the one hand between the state organs which, according to the constitution act on behalf of society as a whole, or partly on behalf of the local community and social organisations,

namely workers' self-management on the other hand. Certain differences still prevail with regard to the scope and degree of those rights, but it is essential that producers' self management in economy is considered constitutionally guaranteed and an inalienable right of the producers working with the social means of production. In this lies the difference between state capitalism on the one hand, and the system of social ownership and workers' self-management on the other. State capitalism is a system based on absolute rights of the state apparatus towards the means of production and products which are not considered social property. Consequently, as commonly believed, the difference between state capitalism and the system of social property and producers' self-management is not merely a matter of terminology but lies in the essence of social relations, namely in the relationship towards the means of production, the management of these means and the products of social labour.

At any rate, the social means of production and producers' self management wrought notable changes in the character of economic plans, which are gradually being converted from all inclusive detailed instruments into over-all plans where only the fundamental elements charting the general course of economic development are foreseen. Moreover the fundamental right to plan production and transport belongs to the self governing economic organisations. Thus the economic organisations are invested with an economic and legal independence and take active part not only in the organisation but also in the process of economic life and development of the community, thus investing economic organisation with a broad decentralised and autonomous basis.

The same factors of self government and decentralization also prevail in the political structure of the country. Local autonomy consisting of district and municipal self government represents the basic political structure. The municipality as the elementary socio-economic community at the same time represents the basic politico-territorial organisation of government and the basis of the social and political system. The people's committee as the representative body of local self government is also the highest organ of authority on its territory. All organs of municipal and district organisation are subordinated to the people's committee. The municipality and district are devoid of all institutions of central authority which would exercise control over local self government. The central organs of authority do not have any rights of „administrative tutelage“ towards local self-government. They mainly supervise the legality of its acts. The scope of autonomous powers lies in the independent rights including not only executive but also „legislative functions“, as well as those which refer to independent budget and other financial means.

Apart from this, there is no difference between state authority and self government in Yugoslavia. Local self government is an integral part and basis of one of the same system of authority. This means that the people's committees and other organs of local self government fulfil and discharge the greater part of state functions, apart from foreign affairs and national defence, which are regulated by the republican and federal government organs. This enhances still further the problem of internal forces which should bring about not only the unity of the political system, but also the realisation of the most important affairs of general interest.

Yugoslavia is a federated state in which the federal units, i. e. the People's Republics, are invested with significant powers, particularly in the enforcement of economic and political decisions, in the sphere of education, culture and most public services, and the formation of all organs of authority. The government organisation of the republic is



almost identical with that of the federation. Last there are also autonomous units (in the people's republic of Serbia) which are based on the principles of division of authority between the republic and autonomous region. Taken as a whole, this calls forth new elements of decentralisation and independence in the mechanism of government organisation.

The second fundamental characteristic of the Yugoslav social and political system lies in the process of de-etatisation, the withering away of etatism and the reduction of former state functions manifested in various institutions and forms of direct democracy, „interest self-government”, and social management in general.

Although the representative system constitutes the mainstay of the state and political organisation, it is in a certain sense an unconventional representative system. The representative bodies are not sovereign in themselves, but consist of citizens who retain an „inalienable sovereignty”. This is guaranteed by the right to recall all representatives elected. Voters' meetings, referendums, public initiative and public debate on almost all important laws and political decisions are all forms of direct democracy which deprive the Government mechanism of a monopolistic position while at the same time subjecting it to public control.

The forms of direct democracy and the new status of self-governing economic organisations represent the basic and most important manifestation of de-etatisation. However, this does not only involve decentralisation in the conventional and mechanical sense of the word, i. e. in the sense of reducing the power of the state. Decentralisation implies far-reaching changes in the conception and structure of the state, and implies the „withering away” of the state. Thus the state ceases to be, as was previously the case, a centralised and absolute state machine embodied in the absolute rights of the central government apparatus, the ruling groups of owners of the means of production, or both. The socialist state finds not only the limits of its authority and actions, but also the basis and condition of its existence and change, in workers' self-management, local autonomy, self-government of working people and various forms of direct democracy. All these government powers and the state organisation itself draw their roots from the working people and its institutions of direct or semi-direct management, so that the higher Government organs represent mandataries, delegates and limited trustees of the people's sovereignty. This is explicitly stressed by the 1953 Federal Constitution.

The transformation of etatism and the process of de-etatisation are particularly obvious in the sphere of education, science, culture, health, social insurance and other social services. The former administrative and autonomous institutions engaged in this field of activity became independent social institutions. This independence is manifested in two ways. First in the fact that they no longer form a component part of government administration. The latter exercises only those rights towards them which are determined by law and in most cases limited only to controlling the legality of their activities. The institutions engaged in these social services are entrusted with all decisive functions in this field. The management organs of these institutions consist of representatives of the working collectives, and individuals designated by citizens, representative bodies, professional and other associations. A system of social management has been introduced in these institutions (this is the technical and narrow sense of social management, as in the broader sense of the word, workers' self management, the self-governing commune and other forms of direct democracy are part of the mechanism of social management).

As can be seen, the social and political system of Yugoslavia strives to promote autonomy, freedom and democracy and replace the „power of things”, namely the authority of the owners of the means of production over men by the government of the people over, *inter alia*, the means of production. This involves two parallel processes in this mechanism: self government and decentralisation on a vertical and horizontal scale: in the government structure and in the relationship of the state towards society.

It is consequently understandable that in such a social and political system, the question arises whether such a process does not lead to the atomisation of society, i. e. the creation of a „state within a state”, the „disruption of national unity” and is therefore contrary to the laws of association and unification which characterise the contemporary economic, technical and cultural development of society.

The process of transformation, *and* the withering away of the old state, is developing gradually in accordance with the material, social, political and cultural development of the country. It also evolves in a broader sense within the framework of the state as a politico-territorial organisation. But also in the narrower sense of the word, this process evolves within the state itself as a political organisation, thus constituting the gist of its internal contradiction inherent in an organisation which at the same time represents a state and its negation in a series of socialised functions and forms. This contradiction lies in the very essence of the socialist state as socialist democracy. The powers of social transformation does not evolve mechanically, by the simple division of society, into an etatist and social sector. On the contrary the separation of social self government from the state constitutes, as shown by the Yugoslav experience, a unique historical process, a process in which the state in transition provides the decisive force and support for its de-etatisation. Hence the character of de-etatisation. It comprises both the separation of social self government from the government system, as well as the conversion of the state system itself into a king of social self management.

The characteristics of this process of change are not new, they reflect the existence of dialectic causation in the transformation of an objective historical system. Without the law of contradictory unity in the transformation of this system, namely the socialist state, the process of transformation itself would be chaotic, spontaneous and hence not only dangerous for socialism and democracy, but also impossible as process of liberation and progress.

All this points to the following three dominant features of the Yugoslav social and political system.

First, apart from promoting the mechanism of decentralised self government, socialist democracy does not imply the disintegration or withering away of etatism. Far-reaching changes in the state occur only when and in so far as the state is being transformed and the objective and subjective conditions for the establishment of more or less free and autonomous institutions of social self government are being created by society. The objective changes in the socialist state cannot take place as an abstract negation of the state, but in the long run, as a result of a single process of etatisation and de-etatisation. Thus de-etatisation proceeds both with the help of the state and without it, which means that the objective development of material and spiritual relations, namely, the free socialist forces and relations, make these changes necessary and therefore also conscious and indispensable.

The unity of this contradictory process and the connection between the state organisation in the narrow sense of the word and the different forms and institutions of social self-government are based on a series of forces and factors which are created and work in society and the state mechanism itself. Of these we will only mention the most important.

In the first place, social ownership over the means of production, and a socialist economy based on the satisfaction of everyone's needs, particularly those of the working people. Other factors, as producers' self-management in economy, and the principle of rewarding each according to his work, the abolishment of exploitation of man by his fellow man, and the conditions for other major economic and social differences and hierarchy, represents the only possible basis for the real democratisation of the political organisation of human society. To be more precise, the better the socialist social system is developed in all its basic relations, the more democratisation and de-etatisation represent real processes of social and economic transformation and liberation.

Other forces and factors of unity in the organisation and development of Yugoslav socialist democracy refer to the position, role and right of man and his political organisations. In every socialist democracy, a free and conscious individual as the responsible exponent of the basic functions and rights of government is the prime social and political force. Such an individual whose links and solidarity with other fellow citizens are being steadily developed is the elementary factor of internal social and political unity without which it is impossible to build socialism or a real socialist democracy. Therefore, the necessary unity of the socialist system requires the steady expansion of freely adopted views by an ever increasing number of citizens concerning all the fundamental questions of socialism and its development. Such kindred views can only be a result of the economic and moral interest



of people for the system and cause of socialism, as well as the advancement of their consciousness and knowledge by means of education, the promotion of culture and science, and the fostering of solidarity, fraternity and friendship among peoples and citizens. Only such an individual will be capable of doing his duty consciously and conscientiously and developing his energy and creative work. Only such a man can have the feeling of personal and collective responsibility, the feeling of personal and conscious discipline. Only such an individual can preserve and strengthen social property and other common values which he considers as his own, not in the selfish, acquisitive sense of private law, but in a co-equal socialist sense. Such an individual is the prime factor of social unity.

And today in the first phase of Yugoslav socio-political development the individual can be assigned this role while maintaining the necessary internal cohesion of society in spite of the existence and influence of various social organisations. That is why the Communist League and the Socialist Alliance of Working People are not only necessary organisation in the political life of the country, but are also indispensable and basic mechanisms and guarantees of the internal unity of Yugoslav society and the transformation of its state into an increasingly solid organisation of socialist democracy. This is not all, however.

The unity of this process of transformation primarily refers to the status and rights of the highest representative organs of the country. The Federal Constitution states expressly that self-government be implemented in accordance with the general interests which are determined by law, economic plans and other decisions of the people's assemblies and people's committees. Moreover, according to these fundamental instruments, the appropriate executive organs of the assemblies are invested with specific rights as regards the control of the legality of the work of the self-governing or socially managed institutions.

The unity of the legal system based on the Federal Constitution and legislation is of paramount importance for the unity of the social and political system. The uniform application of the law, the rule of law and legality represent the prime elements in the preservation of this unity. Hence the enforcement of law, the respect of law, and the lawful acts of organs, institutions and citizens are instruments of self government and subjective rights, as well as the means and guarantee of the unity of the social and political system. This is also enhanced by other principles of the legal system, as the priority of Federal law over republican, republican over the general regulations of people's committees and representative bodies of autonomous units, and generally, priority in the enforcement of regulations brought by higher organs over those enacted by subordinate bodies. The law courts, as well as the special rights with which the higher organs of authority are invested towards those subordinate organs with regard to any unlawful acts of the latter provide the necessary guarantee for the preservation of this mechanism.

Finally, the unity of the social and political system is also ensured by the organisations and institutions founded on a district, republican and federal level by the members of the basic, self-governing organisations and institutions in the sphere of economy and other independent social activities. Economic chambers, vocational economic associations, peasant unions, higher social insurance institutions, associations of enterprises and boards (in the field of public services, as posts, railway etc.) higher public health institutions etc., are all forms of vertical unification among the basic self-governing institutions. Apart from the significance of self-governing organisations and institutions in the management of affairs of common interest, this vertically united associations also discharge two other fundamental functions. In the first place they gradually assume the individual functions which were formerly held by the central government organs, hence representing a new form of de-etatisation. However, their most important function lies in the inter-connection and unification of the basic institutions of self government. As such they are on element of democratic unity on a lower level which is indispensable in a system of developed autonomous democracy which already exists and is steadily developing in Yugoslavia.

That is why the socialist political and social system seeks and must find its unity in its own material and social foundations, particularly in the development of the producer forces, in the promotion of socialist social relations, in the



The People's Square in Split

social ownership of means of production as well as the active decisive role of the producer, i. e. the individual in his capacity of creator of social values. This unity exist and will be further enhanced by the promotion of these basic forces and relations of socialist democracy, in so far as this unity is both objective and subjective, namely exists both as part of the social reality and in the minds of men.

But however important the social and political unity of a community, it cannot be maintained nor can this internal conscious linking up of people be achieved, if a special external mechanism is lacking and if the relevant legal and other instruments are not enforced. This mechanism is not identical with the state and rule of law, although the state and law are its fundamental elements, particularly in the initial stages of socialist development. Yugoslav experience points to another two basic levels of this mechanism. The first consists of social, especially political organisations which are to an increasing extent becoming free associations of people with the same views, and necessary organisations of social consciousness, i. e. the most conscious and active social forces. The inevitable spontaneity and antinomies of the period of transition characteristic of every society engaged in the promotion of socialism, are primarily a result of backwardness, indifference, vagueness of conceptions and ideas, as well as active and passive resistance to socialist development.

Various compulsory and voluntary „vertical associations“ based on workers' self-management and social management constitute the second elements. These associations unite the basic cells of self government and institutions, thus ensuring the general unity of society on a higher level by means of an appropriate relationship with the highest state institutions.

Every tendency to minimize or overestimate either of these two processes which influence the unity of society, internal social cohesion which spring from socialism, progress, freedom and external unification ensured by the aforementioned and other external instruments, is contrary to socialism and socialist development. Only a harmonious and realist combination of these processes corresponds to socialist democracy as a steadily progressing social system. This leads to the conclusion that the internal balance of socialist society is undergoing a process of constant change and is hence a dynamic society. Such a society not only ignores the „social static“ of Herbert Spencer, but also presupposes the significant and decisive role of intelligence, science, freedom, consciousness, social creativeness as well as of the most conscious social strata and their organisations.



## Increase of Agricultural Investments

Radoslav NIKETIĆ

THE building up of Yugoslav investment developed at a highly rapid rate in the post war period. Over-all investments in the 1947/54 period totalled approximately 2,113% million dinars (calculated at 1952 prices). This figure covers all economic and demographic investments, with major stress on industry and mining, primarily the heavy industry.

Notwithstanding the comparatively large volume of investments, Yugoslavia did not succeed in wholly overcoming the economic and technical backwardness inherited in all fields and branches of social activity. The achievements realized in economy, however, have not eliminated the danger called forth by the uneven rate of development in all fields and branches of social activity, which might lead to undesired effects, namely, the further disparity of over-all economic development. Certain discrepancies have already been manifested on the present level of producer forces between mining and industry on the one hand, where output is increasing steadily, and agriculture on the other hand, where production is still inadequate, insufficiently technically equipped and obsolete.

In spite of certain short-falls in agricultural development as far as compared to the other economic branches, particularly mining and industry, the present and future development of agriculture and new investments in this field should be examined from the following standpoints:

a) the ratio of active population employed in agriculture and the total active population;

b) the present average yields which are still far below the levels which could be achieved through the application of up-to-date farming methods and techniques.

The short-falls in agricultural production as compared to the other economic branches cannot be eliminated by a mere increase of investments in this field. This is certainly necessary, but it is no less a fact that alternative means of employment should be found for the present and future surplus rural labour, as well as surplus labour in the other fields of social activity. On the other hand, the tempo of investments for the industrialisation and urbanisation of the country, which can and must be achieved in order to advance the underdeveloped economy, is largely contingent on the increase of the farm market surpluses which cover the requirements of the growing urban population, and the steady advancement of over-all living standards.

### RATIO OF AGRICULTURAL INVESTMENTS IN YUGOSLAVIA AND SOME OTHER COUNTRIES OF WESTERN EUROPE

A total of 202.8 billion dinars (of which 167.5 billion were absorbed by agriculture alone) were invested in forestry and agriculture in the 1947/54 period, thus accounting for 9.5% and 7.8% respectively of total investment expenditure. Peasant cooperatives accounted for 45% of the 167.5 billion dinars invested in agriculture.

A comparative survey of the structure of Yugoslav investment expenditure with that of some other Western European countries facilitates the assessment of the volume of Yugoslav agricultural investments so far.

a) structure of investment expenditure in Yugoslavia  
Total investment expenditure — 100%

Year	Agriculture forestry and fishery	Industry, mining, building, industry, trade and crafts	Transport and communications	Housing	Public services and other demographic investments
1947 to 1952	10.7	47.7	16.6	12.3	12.7
1952	5.5	69.8	17.6	5.3	1.8
1953	6.1	65.6	17.7	6.0	4.6
1954	5.0	59.2	18.8	9.2	7.8

This survey clearly illustrates the structure of Yugoslav investment expenditure to date (Military investments are not included above).

b) structure of investment expenditure in some Western European countries

Investment in fixed funds — 100%

Country	Year	Agriculture and forestry	Industry, min- ing, building, industry, trade and crafts	Transport and communi- cation	Housing	Public services and other demographic investments
		a)	b)	c)		d)
Belgium e)						
	1950	4	24	30	24	18
	1951	5	26	28	24	17
Denmark f)						
	1950	7	18	12	18	45
	1951	9	18	11	17	45
France g)						
	1950	9	—	10	19	—
	1951	9	—	10	22	—
West Germany						
	1949	10	39	13	21	17
	1950	8	40	13	24	15
	1951	8	42	13	23	14
Greece						
	1949	12	15	24	31	18
	1950	10	19	24	31	16
	1951	13	33	15	30	9
Italy						
	1949	11	39	19	26	5
	1950	7	40	19	29	5
	1951	9	41	16	28	6
The Netherlands						
	1948	7	30	26	29	8
	1949	6	31	23	32	8
	1950	6	35	21	16	22
	1951	6	35	22	15	22
Norway						
	1950	8	36	17	25	14
	1951	7	35	19	24	15
Great Britain						
	1949	6	41	16	20	17
	1950	5	44	14	19	18
	1951	5	47	13	18	17



In spite of the fact that the conditions of investment expenditure in Yugoslavia differ from those prevailing in the Western European countries both with regard to the natural resources and the level of outlay into fixed funds relating to individual fields and branches of social activities, and although the economic structure of these countries differs from the economic structure of Yugoslavia, the level of investment expenditure in agriculture and forestry in the former is more or less on the same level as in Yugoslavia. Thus the share of investments in agriculture and forestry ranges from 5—12% of total investment in fixed funds.

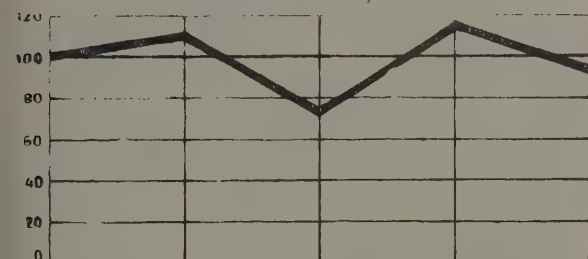
However, this similarity of agricultural and foreign investments, however, does not warrant the conclusion that Yugoslav investment expenditure has been adequate or inadequate so far, as this matter should be contemplated in connection with the share of active population employed in agriculture and other branches of social activity as compared to the quality of soil and average crop yields in Yugoslavia and other countries. All these elements should be considered from the standpoint of the greater or lesser application of modern farming methods, conditions of climate and other natural and social factors.

The share of active population employed in agriculture was notably changed in the post-war period, as shown by the latest population censuses:

Year	Active population employed in agriculture	% of total active population	Index numbers	
			1948—100	1953—100
1948	7,019,106	71.8%	100	136
1953	5,179,000	61.5%	73	100

Compared to the pre war ten year average the index numbers of aggregate farm production in the same period are as follows:

INDEX NUMBERS OF TOTAL AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION 1930/39 = 100



Average 1947/51 1951 1952 1953 1954

The index of total agricultural production and its individual branches as compared to the pre-war ten year average are as follows: (1930/9 — 100)

	Average 1945/51	1951	1952	1953	1954
Total farm production	100	111	74	112	95
Breakdown:					
Crop growing	102	114	62	120	89
Fruit growing	110	117	90	150	110
Viniculture	106	150	81	112	87
Livestock breeding	92	92	87	96	107
Fishery	187	175	175	200	185
Home processing	102	109	79	100	81

While not dwelling at length on all the above mentioned figures, but contemplating the problem of post-war investment expenditure in agriculture only in connection with the index numbers of cumulative agricultural output and active population employed in agriculture, we would reach the conclusion that investments expenditure so far was:

- not including changes in livestock numbers
- total investments in mining and industry included
- not including highway network
- including highway network
- miners' housing included in coal mining investments
- percentage of transport and communications included public and marine transport
- the heading „agriculture" includes the food industry

a) sufficient, in view of the fact that the number of active agricultural population declined by 27%, while the share of active population employed in agriculture dropped from 71.8% in 1948 to 61.5% in 1953.

b) insufficient, as the index numbers of aggregate farm output registered no major changes in the post-war period, while the market surpluses are moreover insufficient to satisfy the growing demand (intermittent shortages of wheat, lard, etc.)

However, regardless of the fact whether the post-war investments in agriculture are adequate or not, and notwithstanding various subjective and objective circumstances in the field of agriculture, it clearly ensues from the foregoing that total production exceeds the pre-war ten year average only in good crop years, while most frequently stagnating at more or less the same level as before the war. It is also obvious that some annual averages of total farm production, especially in the drought year, depend more on weather conditions than investment expenditure. This does not imply, however, that a higher level of investments would not offset or alleviate the effects of climate conditions to a certain extent.

The ratios of investment expenditure, gross product and national income for economy in general and agriculture in particular, are good indicators of the overall rate of investments in this sphere.

Ratio of gross investment expenditure and gross product

Year	Gross product		Gross investments		% gross investment expenditure in gross product	
	Economy total	Agri-culture	Economy total	Agri-culture	Economy total	Agri-culture
1952	936.2	225.7	272.9	4.4	29.4	1.9
1953	1,111.2	320.9	340.6	16.8	33.0	5.3
1954	1,224.0	348.3	394.7	17.3	32.0	5.0

b) Ratio of net investment expenditure and national income

Year	National income		Net investment		% of net investments in national income	
	Economy (total)	Agri-culture	Economy (total)	Agri-culture	Economy (total)	Agri-culture
1952	853.8	217.0	220.8	3.3	25.8	1.5
1953	1,008.3	310.0	265.1	14.1	26.7	4.5
1954	1,086.0	336.8	308.6	14.9	31.1	4.4

c) Ratio of net and gross investments in Yugoslavia, some Western European countries and the USA

Country	Year	Net investments		Amortisation		Gross investments	
Yugoslavia	1954a)	79		21		100	
	1954b)	86		14		100	
Norway	1939	40		60		100	
	1949	86		44		100	
Sweden	1939	38		62		100	
	1949	32		68		100	
Denmark	1949	45		55		100	
France	1949	46		54		100	
Great Britain	1949	50		50		100	
India	1949	46		54		100	
USA	1924/1933	36		76		100	

The share of gross and net investment expenditure in the gross product, i. e. national income, and the comparison of this ratio with that of the Western European countries — the share of gross investments in the national income of some Western European countries is as follows: Belgium 18, Denmark 23, France 17, Great Britain 13 — (source: Post-War Economic development) which shows that such a volume of Yugoslav investments was directly reflected in the decline of the standard of living. Such a volume of investments was one of the causes, inter alia, of inflationary tendencies on the Yugoslav market, thus resulting in a smaller physical volume of investments in spite of the increased investment expenditure.

A comparative survey of the ratio of Yugoslav net and gross investments in economy as a whole and in agriculture in particular, and those of some Western European countries and the USA shows that insufficient attention was devoted to replacement and maintenance investments in the post-war period, which will, needless to say, be corrected in the forthcoming period.

- For economy as a whole.
- For agriculture only.



# »The Crisis« of Neoliberalism

V. MILENKOVIC

THE conjuncture in the economy of Western Europe and the USA has been a cause of anxiety for months. In contrast to the situation on the eve of the great crisis of 1929/1932 — when an excessive boom, instead of bringing lasting prosperity (which was optimistically expected) resulted in a breakdown marking beginning of the world economic crisis — this time, no optimism is shown, on the contrary, the conjuncture is causing fear. In all these countries, the whole apparatus of State intervention in economy, has operated a factor of stabilization. As a matter of fact, the State intervention in economy has never ceased to operate as — after the 1929/1932 crisis — it became the essential element of the economic movement, a factor ensuring capital turnover, except for changing its individual functions and adapting them to concrete conditions. Necessary and indispensable to modern capitalism, it became a method and practice also of those who declared themselves as its opponents. In this respect, the most characteristic position is the one in which the neo-liberalistic theoreticians find themselves today.

The starting point of neo-liberalists is the theory and practice of the so-called social and free market economy. Such economy, as understood by the neo-liberalists, means the greatest freedom; its public element boils down to State influence for ensuring the freest possible competition, for restricting and preventing such manifestations and forces in economy as would lead to a limiting of competition. This is the theory of neo-liberalists. For years they have been pointing to the free market economy as the ideal of a new order, freed from internal contradictions and disastrous crises. Practice, however, is quite different. It would be wrong to conclude that the neo-liberalists have renounced all State intervention in economy: on the contrary, the essence of their theory and practice is reduced to the solution of the problem of capital turnover, and capital, when its turnover is ensured, will know how to solve the remaining problems. In this way, neo-liberalism, in the final analysis, as formulated by the leading European liberal circles (with the dominating influence of democratic-Christian elements) means nothing but the control of economy, that is, of the economic and financial policy pursued by the State, with a view to safeguarding economy from all those interventionist measures which are not in its interests. This has led to the present „crisis“ of neo-liberalism which, far from being unable to overcome the contradictions in which the economy is involved, has even aggravated these contradiction with its influence.

Characteristic for the development of economy in Western Europe and the USA during the last few years was the very strong process of concentration and centralization of capital. The State strongly supported this process. The policy of the reduction of taxes, of the facilitation of short-term amortization, granting of various investment benefits, ensurance of output through substantial State purchases, financing of exports from State budget funds etc., — namely the policy of accelerated capital accumulation, constituted the basic elements of State intervention in economy. Neo-liberalism considered this practice as in keeping with its theory, none of the liberalists ever condemned such forms of State intervention as have led in the final instance to an aggravation of internal contradictions. This policy was not characteristic only for the period of decline of economic activity, which set in when the war in Korea, ended, but was continued even after this period.

The Social and political consequences of this policy were not wanting. The most important were the profound changes in the distribution of income which led to a rapid formation of the money market and to the appearance of considerable free funds. This great increase of accumulation during the last few years, was mostly at the expense of the income of the working class, which recorded a relative decline, and deterioration in exchange relations (through differences between the raw material prices and industrial product prices) in under-developed countries. Studies of various

institutes which conduct researches in the current conjuncture conditions show that workers' wages in Western Europe did not move in proportion to the increase of the productivity of labour. In a study of the European Economic Commission examining the question of stable prices in West European countries — it is said that the enterprises enjoying greater possibilities for applying rationalization were capable of more than compensating the increase in wages. Other enterprises with fewer possibilities in this direction looked for a solution in the raising of prices which again, through transfer to the consumer, more or less neutralized the increase of wages. According to data from the Hamburg World Economic Archives, the exchange of relations between raw material and industrial countries have been unfavourable for several years. In June 1955 the export price index of agricultural and raw material countries on the 1950—100 basis, was a little over 100, while that of industrial countries was a little less than 115. This means that agricultural and raw material countries are now giving one sixth more of their export products per raw material unit. In other words the developed countries get a larger quantity of raw materials in exchange for their exports. This means that industrial countries were able to compensate for the rise in prices — which occurred this year — to a large extent at the expense of these countries. As a result, the agricultural and raw material countries, by paying relatively higher import prices found themselves in an unfavourable situation. This was reflected in the worsening of the payment balance in many of these countries which had to restrict imports in addition to taking other measures.

These relations of distribution provide one of the explanations for the present high economic conjuncture in industrial countries. The dangers inherent in this development, that is, the sharpening of contradictions which it brings in its wake, have now placed neo-liberalism in a dilemma how to avoid the crisis whose elements have already asserted themselves to a certain extent.

The discussions which have been going on during the last few months, especially in Western European countries, various plans, programmes and measures put forward and proposed for the curbing and stabilizing of the present conjuncture, indicate, in addition to other factors, the specific crisis in which the theory and practice of neo-liberalism has landed. Now the essential components of this policy are being clearly revealed — a policy which increasingly oriented the functions of State intervention in economy in favour of money problems and neglected those other functions which through the system of previous income distributions could have maintained a balance, however moderate, between production and consumption. In the discussions of these questions, today certain voices are raised, among neo-liberalists, to the effect that in the long run social market economy leads to collectivism, that complete free competition means communism, that whoever declares himself in favour of social market economy is a supporter of the actual nationalization of economy etc. True, it should be borne in mind that neo-liberals in Western Europe do not constitute a united group with common attitudes and views. They are only ideologically united against socialism, but as regards theory and practice in economic policy, there are great differences in their attitudes. Thus one could understand the anathematizing of the social market policy which until recently, so to speak, constituted the idea and aim of policy. But what is the actual meaning of this change and is a change really involved?

Concrete conditions in the economy of Western Europe are today bringing pressure to bear on the neo-liberalist theory and practice urging it to show its real features and essential characteristics. It appears now that neo-liberalism is nothing but a theoretical abstract creation which economic development has lately made increasingly untenable. The utter confusion in which the neo-liberalists find themselves



looking, as they do, for ways and means to check the present high conjuncture, to disentangle economy from crisis manifestations, is actually nothing less than a reflex of concrete trends in world economy leading to the establishment of a normal cycle while the neo-liberalists —, at least those responsible for the conducting of economic policy in individual countries — have given up cyclic movements. This fact now marks the collapse also of the neo-liberalist theory on the creation of such a state of affairs in economy as would be free from crises. The neo-liberalist practice — with contradictions in its very bases — has only accelerated this process, giving free rein to concentration and centralization of capital creating conditions, — of course with the active help of the State —, for a rapid and substantial accumulation of capital. The theory of social market economy was actually nothing but the practice of free capital activity with strong State support.

The neo-liberalists supported the theory of social market economy until it was possible to carry on without any hindrance the practice of strengthening the positions of capital. Today this practice no longer suits them as the positions which capital has won are in jeopardy, and it is now the question whether its turnover is to be continued or the present basis, and whether a crisis is imminent. Consequently neo-liberalism is now declaring itself in favour of a specific State intervention, exclusively in favour of capital, in order to maintain economic activity at the high level

already attained and prevent the outbreak of a crisis. The intervention which they are now advocating boils down to the following objectives to prevent the rise of wages to avoid an increase of prices which might lead to inflation; to restrict and control consumption so as to provide for the greatest possible investments and exports; to introduce further facilities for „writing off” and amortization, to reduce taxes on all investments and create new untaxed reserves in enterprises, which would be used only of these enterprises land in difficulties as a result of the crisis. Above all emphasis is laid on the increase of the productivity of labour „in order to maintain a harmonious relation between prices and wages”. All in all, capital and monopoly are looking from their strengthened positions for conditions which would enable them to shift the burdens of a possible crisis on to the broad masses of consumers.

Two conclusions can be drawn from the above. Firstly, that capitalist production can no longer develop without State intervention. Neo-liberalism, no matter how much it declared itself theoretically against State intervention in economy, was actually only against certain definite measures of such intervention, measures which diminished the prospects for an increase of profits, dividends etc. Therefore, it is not against State intervention as such. Secondly, the basic problem is reduced to the character of intervention, and this means to the forces under whose control and in whose interest it is being exercised.

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## The Works of Petar Lubarda

Miodrag PROTIC

BORN in 1905 at Ljuboten, Montenegro, Petar Lubarda enrolled for studies in the Belgrade Art School in 1925, but only a few months later he left it and went to Paris. Immediately on his arrival there, he began visiting l'Academie des beaux-arts from which, after his first impressions, he took leave never to set foot there again. In Paris he worked independently and exhibited his works at various exhibitions of the Salon des Independents for six years, from 1936 to 1942. In 1929, he was in Rome. On his return to Belgrade he did not link himself up with the existing groups but appeared on his own. At the National Exhibition in Paris, in 1937, he won the Grand Prix for painting. Then he was awarded the first prize at an exhibition held in The Hague. He returned to Paris where he stayed for two years: 1938 and 1939. He spent the war as a prisoner of war in Belgrade. After the liberation, he lived for four years at Cetinje, painting (1946—1950). Here a turning-point occurs in his creative work. In mid — 1950 he returned to Belgrade. At the same time he exhibited at the Biennales in Venice. The following year he organized his big exhibition of new pictures in Belgrade — an exhibition which gave rise to comments and stirred the opinion. In 1955 — he had an independent exhibition in Paris, which the French critics greeted favourably. The foremost among them was Jean Cassou.

This biographical sketch covers in a brief outline the whole of Lubarda's life, the whole of his activity. Now, of course, we would have to go on to a plastic reconstruction of the substance of his work. Here however, we have cause to hesitate: there are, obviously, two significant phases in his creative work. Where is the border between them — at which point are we to divide his work and life in two? — a question which seems irrelevant for the explanation and appraisal of Lubarda's art. Besides, one cannot be too sure that it is at all possible to state emphatically where caesura occurs in his creative work; what is involved is a slow and logical process of constant development. Hence it is best to leave this question to the historians of art. But, in order to have a foothold in time and space — let us say that this transition period falls around 1947, during the artist's stay in Montenegro. Actually it makes no difference whether it began clearly manifesting itself a year earlier or a year later.

When in the twenties — which now have an elegiac ring for us — the young Lubarda found himself on the Paris boulevards, all the important movements of modern art had already been formed: fauvism, expressionism, cubism, surrealism. They all existed, there was no doubt about that, they were intertwined they became extinct or received new impulses, dependent on the conviction and strength of the artists who belonged to them. The great adventure of the human spirit had ended. Everything had been analysed, everything had been experienced. What remained was fatigue and a taste of ashes. And already in the thirties, there began to appear a desire for the revival of a complete art, for a more direct contact with life. Derain, to mention one of the older representatives, is a picturesque example of such a „repentant“.

This coincidence, however, should not entangle us in formal-logical construction and make us assert that because of this state of affairs young Lubarda remained faithful to natural appearances, that for this reason he responded to the call for a „retour aux apparences“. Especially if we bear in mind that even those who came to Paris before him, at the time of the grand manifestoes, never became surrealists or

cubists in the real sense of the word. There were only moderate, transitory influences. Sumanović is the best example.

For this historical fact, decisive for the development of our art between the two wars, no explanation should be sought in the constellation of Paris art conditions, but primarily in the conditions which prevailed among us. Following timidly suggested impressionism — even after the appearance of eruptive Nadežda Petrović — it was not possible to go on to cubism straight away, or to surrealism: what was possible to do was only to legalize impressionism and introduce fauvism. Naturally this interpretation is not complete: the roots of living art are not so much in art which preceded it as in modern life. And the special social atmosphere of the first decade after the world war, the intellectual level of our midst, and the artists themselves who belonged to it and to which they were linked, did not permit the abandonment of the solid, concrete object: it could have been expressed in the fauvist or cubist manner, but it always remained visible, present. Collective vision could not be completely negated as the Serbian society, together with its artists, was not ripe for radical opposition to classical conceptions, nor for pure virtuosity, for an absolutely new concept of art. In its life and in its consciousness of life there were few substances which might have given it nourishment. The few writers and poets who belonged to the ranks of European ultramodernism, being pure intellectuals, felt they were citizens of Europe, sensitive to every breath of its culture, to every beat of its destiny. The Serbian painter of that time, however, was still a painter-craftsman rather than a poet-philosopher.

Therefore, young Lubarda had no other choice but to begin quite logically — with the object.

He painted landscapes in Paris, in Montenegro, still-lives, flowers and figures. All — in bleak darkness, grey-yellowish or grey-greenish. The basic quality lies in the method of degrading colour to tone: the aim being to produce as contrasting a value harmony as possible. In this grey atmosphere silver always glistens: a dry white flower, a porcelain vase, heavy curtains. The white surface is not only the final accent in the bright-dark scale but is also the most densely and most resonantly materialized: it is the cross-roads where light meets colour, and colour merges with matter. This quality — a dark general tonality and the platinum sparkle of bright, usually fluidly concretized surfaces — is dominant throughout the first period of Lubarda's creative work.

Other symbols, however, show some changes. First of all one notes the slow evolution from the linear towards the pictorial. The line defines — according to Velflin's theory of plastic symbols — the character of the object, the bounds of its form: the outline between object and space. Pictorially — a purely visual aspect: the contour is not rigidly defined, not static, the form is not determined so much by line as by light. Therefore, the line limits the object, isolates it from the surroundings. In contrast to it, the pictorial brings nearer and unites things into a living and breathing whole.

This evolution is interesting, unique: it is constantly accompanied by a single tonality, the principle of transforming the heterogeneous into the homogeneous. The even light bathes all the objects and thus brings them into mutual connection and harmony. But here the value register is not deep, the darkest parts are not very far from the brightest, there are no strong light-darkness relations. On the warm bright-grey surface, for example, stands another even more luminous white form. How then to avoid diffusion and attain firmness — By line. With it Lubarda spontaneously defines the object



portrayed, emphasizes it as much as necessary, but does not isolate it — the tone remains the uniting factor. Thus the picture gets its firmness, wholeness and an expressive arabesque quality.

This is the first function of the line in this early period of Lubarda's art. The second is a certain deformation. Valde-mar Georges says that Sutin carried out a disintegration of form by way of colour. Young Lubarda undoubtedly sympathized with Sutin, but did not follow the same road. He decomposed form chiefly by line, and then by a disposition of surfaces of various bright-grey intensity. This procedure has been emphasized for about thirty years in some landscapes and especially in portraits.

Here a turning-point occurs: the emphasis is no longer laid on the linear, but on the pictorial aspect. Lighting becomes more intense, the shade deeper, contrasts more dramatic. The fringes of light and dark are hidden, it is true, in shadow; still the need for line is drying-up. The object receives its volume, its form, through the conflict of light and shadow, its weight — by a vigorous materialization. From the surface, the picture withdraws into the depths. Now the space between the high and low registers is big with a full orchestration of light and dark hues. The pictures dating from this phase are heavy, saturated with crystal pigments, matter, enriched by a firm facture. Such are, for instance, the monumental „Flowers” and „The Church” from the collection of Pavle Beljanski, as well as two moving landscapes from the National Museum, the one with ruins which sparkle weirdly in dark spaces and the one which represents a village with illusively white walls of houses.

Then the main hero comes on the stage of this visual word: pure light. It appears — *deus ex machina* — in the third scene of the first act of this tense drama. Pure light has always agreed with pure line; but line, as we have seen, disappeared from Lubarda's canvases. What remained was value; colour confronted it. What conflict will break out between these great historical rivals? It would appear that there is no room for both in the same space: they exclude each other. Out — out! Colour or bright-dark hues, but not colour and light-dark. This phenomenon was originally clearly noted by Fromantin, and has recently been explained in detail by Andre Lot. Lubarda's strong personality, however, conciliates these two classical opponents by a compromise: the picture still retains the value principle, and pure hue is its colourist point. At the beginning we had a bright spot as the concluding accent in the bright-dark gradation; in addition to this, we now have a pure colour accent, harmoniously contrasted with the basic tone of the picture, which emphasizes it and gives it its full resonance. A pure-red in cold greenish intoned space, for example. A bloody lamb's head against a grey-green background. An orange-coloured flower against the heavy background of yellow-green drapery. Then again a flower — or a drop of blood — in a stony grey-white desert. A strong seed of the future? The embryo of a new drama? The curtain rings down on these premonitions. The first act has ended, the first period has been rounded off.

But here are new turns: a new epoch begins. Pure colour is no longer satisfied with the role of accent. It spreads. An exciting fight ensues between it and the values, between it and the united tone. And it wins. No longer does it adapt itself to the tone, but vice versa. In conflict with colour the tone becomes pure, bright, red-hot, silvery. The stone craters, abysses in the Montenegrin karst areas — which Lubarda always paints — are now filled with bright blueness instead of being overshadowed by darkness. Blue heights and blue depths. Light is no longer of an ashen-reddish hue, but white, orange, yellow and rosy. A new, flaming, somewhat stern pantheism shoots out of these pictures.

Thus the contrast between light and darkness takes a new aspect: a stern white and sharp bleu. It passes into full colour. More correctly, it is replaced by an intensive hue, its negation. But the appetites of pure colour are great: not only does it abstract the tone, but it also threatens the object itself. It tends ever more emphatically towards liberation from the concrete form, its local tone, its natural structure. It gravitates towards the free rhythmic arabesque, which dynamically extends over the surface of the picture and introduces it into the sphere of pure vision; only beneath it, in the second place, is to be discerned the faded world of reality: hills, mountains, abysses, flowers. In this phase the art symbols — colour and line in the first place — begin to live a life of their own, drawing away from the fate of things which they are to represent.

Are we in the sphere of exclusive visualization, abstract art symbolism, albeit brilliantly balanced? Is this expla-



Petar Lubarda — The Bull and the Moon

nation really quite close to Roger Fry's theory? Probably: the concretization disappears from time to time. What remains is full colour. And absolute harmony.

The object, therefore, disappears from time to time. But it also returns. In the network of lines which tend towards fullness and roundness, which avoid geometry and angles, in the rhythm of large, usually lively coloured surfaces, green and yellow, white and red, black and blue, we recognize, here and there, a remnant of the real flower: that white star on the ashy-violet sky, with peaceful clouds beneath it — grey-greenish and black as if representing a distant, dead planet; the black contour of the bull, surrounded by orange-red fire and arabesque lines; the scythe of the moon over a nightmare of hills and glaciers; the octopus in the mystical blueness of ocean depths; black fish fossils, traces of an apocalyptic epoch against a flaming red background of consciousness. — These elements give Lubarda's vision, apparently apstracly built, the character of a delicate intellectual lyrism with surrealist ingredients.

The object is even more in evidence. However, this is not an object from the first phase of his development; the painter still decomposes reality and makes a world of new forms from its parts. Colour is the primary, basic, thing, a little stern, extraordinarily expansive. The shades which are only accompanying it are different and rich in register: grey, greenish, violet, brown, gold. They strengthen its resonance and ennoble it at the same time. Colour is light. The light is large, epical, blinding. It is space, in which full-blooded forms hover. The depth — the third dimension of space — starts forward from the surface of the canvas, and not backwards.

This irresistible colour aggression is accompanied — characteristically for Lubarda — by a thick and heavy matter of a fine facture. Formerly it was bony, crystal in character. Now it is dry, porous: to a certain extent it resembles frescorepresentation.

Therefore, Lubarda's vision from the second period of his painting is characterized by two basic qualities: the first is transfer of expression into the domain of pure visualization — into colour and line as such; the second — into an autonomy of line and colour as against the object, which first almost disappears and then returns transformed. Its return to the surface of the canvas, however, does not mean restriction of line and colour: their life in the picture does not depend on the object. The reverse is true. Hence it may be concluded that from the purely plastic viewpoint, the object is not indispensable for Lubarda's conception, which is clear from the pictures he exhibited in Paris in 1952. Its introduction has another purpose: to define more fully the method of the artistic sense, to delineate more closely the character of its individuality, to define and link the expression with the realistic world. In this way, duality between the abstract and concrete is resolved in a personal and homogeneous transposition.

(To be continued in our next issue)



# The Publishing Activity in Yugoslavia

A. ACKOVIĆ

THE publishing houses „Prosveta” of Belgrade, „Zora” of Zagreb, „Svijetlost” of Sarajevo, „Državna založba” of Ljubljana and „Državno knjigoizdatelstvo” of Skopje, were the first publishing enterprises to begin publishing the works of Yugoslav authors after the war.

Today, one decade after the end of the war, there are in Yugoslavia over thirty publishing enterprises which publish Yugoslav literary works, either as their principal or side-line activity. There are eighteen different libraries, within which the Yugoslav publishers publish the works of our authors. But, even so, this whole activity has not yet been fully specialized. The whole matter must be thoroughly studied. In any case, the programmes and results achieved so far show that serious efforts have been made to harmonize the publishing activities with the needs of our cultural development. In this field, the publishing activity has not been affected by commercial considerations, and was always maintained at a high cultural level. Lately, the publishing of work by our authors began to stimulate writers. Today, one can say that the publishing of the works of Yugoslav authors has kept in step with their output. Successful young writers have no difficulty in finding publishers. The number of Yugoslav authors whose works were published in the first year after the war was 105 and in 1954 works by 270 Yugoslav writers were printed. The increased literary activity made it possible to expand the publishing activities to a considerable extent. This is shown by the bibliography of Yugoslav literature.

In the course of the first post-war decade, 3,721 works by Yugoslav authors were published in 21,505,905 copies. Of this number 704 works were collections of poems, 335 novels, 813 collections of short stories, 649 works for children, 416 plays, 212 folk literature, 179 essays and criticism, and 413 other prose.

This shows that most numerous were collections of short stories, followed by poetry. Then came children's literature, plays, novels, folk literature and finally literary criticism and essays. Accordingly, the view that poetry is neglected in our country is incorrect. It is, however, true that poetry, i.e. collections of poems were published in far greater number than novels for instance. The published collections of poems are mostly the works of our classics, and contemporary poets are not so greatly represented. This, however, does not at all mean that contemporary poetry is neglected. What the whole matter involves is a higher criterion which strives to raise our poetry to the level attained by other forms of literature. Adhering to this principle, the publishers take in account that there are in our country a large number of literary papers and journals.

If we consider the circulation of different works, this picture is reversed. The first place is again taken by collections of short stories (over 5 million copies), followed by children's literature (4.5 million), poetry (2,177,334), novels (2,122,404), plays (1,531,920) and criticism and essays (1,126,775). But circulation is not always a true measure of the readers interest. It is known that works for children are usually sold out very quickly. Next the novel is most in demand, while poetry and drama are least sought. In the publishing of poetry the greatest success was achieved in 1950 (425,900 copies, twice as many as last year). The situation with novels

which began to be published in increasing numbers in 1949 is somewhat different. Here, we must mention that the number of contemporary novels is growing at the expense of the classics.

In the past decade, works by Ivo Andrić, Vladimir Nazor, Prežihov Voranc, Branko Ćopić, Radoje Domanović, Jovan Jovanović Zmaj and Bora Stanković were published every year. Most works were published by the following authors: Branko Ćopić — 99, Vladimir Nazor — 67, Ivan Cankar — 51, Branislav Nušić — 42, Ivo Andrić — 39, Petar Kočić — 34, Jovan Jovanović Zmaj — 32, Prežihov Voranc — 31, August Senoa — 30, Franc Bevk — 28, Miroslav Krleža — 27, Jovan Popović — 26, Bora Stanković — 24. Bibliographical data also show that works by Ivo Andrić, Franc Bevk, Matej Bor, Ivan Cankar, Branko Ćopić, Dobrica Ćosić, Jovan Jovanović Zmaj, Petar Kočić, Miroslav Krleža, Mate Lovrak, Vladimir Nazor, Branislav Nušić, Prežihov Voranc, Isak Samokovlija, Toma Seliskar, Bora Stanković, and Oton Zupanić were also published in all Yugoslav languages. Although in Slovenia and Macedonia an increasing number of readers read Serbo-Croatian works in the original, the publishing houses thought it necessary to make these works available to the readers in the languages which they speak and to acquaint them with the greatest achievements in Yugoslav literature.

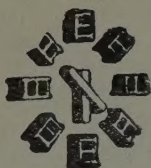
According to bibliographic data, the greatest progress in the publishing of Yugoslav authors was made in Serbia, then in Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro. But if we take into account that Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro make up a single language area, the first place in this respect is taken by Slovenia, where, in view of the ratio of published works to the number of inhabitants, the greatest success was achieved. In Slovenia the greatest attention is paid to the novel. There, 73 novels were published in 693,700 copies.

In the first decade after the war, very good results were achieved in the publishing activities in minority languages. From 1951 to 1954 755 works were published in 3 million copies in the Czech, Slovak, Italian, Hungarian, Rumanian, Russian, Ruthenian, Shiptar and Turkish languages. Of the publishing enterprises which publish works in the languages of the national minorities most successful are „Mustafa Bakija” and „Bratstvo-jedinstvo”. The „Bratstvo-jedinstvo” enterprise has published since the liberation 130 works by Yugoslav authors — 44 by Serbo-Croatian, 5 by Slovene and 71 by Hungarian authors.

During this first post-war decade the publishing houses and institutions in individual republics published most of the classics from their territories, and achieved significant results in the publishing of works by authors from other Yugoslav republics. In all this, however, there was more haste and goodwill than systematic work, for, after the long pause due to the war, it was necessary to supply the readers with the necessary books. The successes and the experience of this period will now be the basis for the improvement in the publishing Yugoslav authors. At present, ten years after the war, the publishers are faced with an increased output of our writers. The novel is particularly being increased in number, and the publishers are beginning to pay greater attention to this form of literature.







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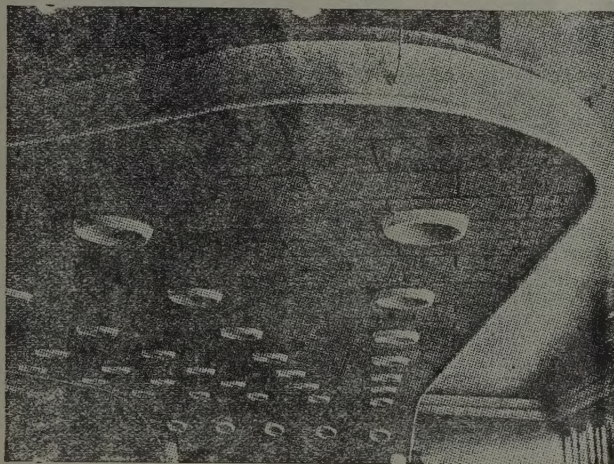
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### THE TABLE OF STATIC TAROLIT PLATES:

Results of research made on Tarolit BD plates	Required as per NRS standard		At 11011 for foreign materials	Tarolit plates	
	Average	Minimal		mini-mum	maxi-mum
On bending kilos/cm <sup>2</sup>	6	5	5	12	17
On pressure	12%	20%	15%	4,5%	



### CUBIC WEIGHT

The porous structure and wood wool, as the main substance in Tarolit, render this material very light. Its cubic weight is about 350 to 550 kilos/m<sup>3</sup>, and it depends on proportion of mixture and quantities of wood wool and cement; as to whether these elements are to be used for insulation purposes or must support a certain load. In cubic weight this material corresponds to the international average of 440—500 kilos/m<sup>3</sup> for light materials, so that handling of the plates and elements is very easy requiring no excess effort for building in.

### RESISTANCE AGAINST ATMOSPHERIC INFLUENCES:

In testing the Tarolit plate samples by exposing them without protection to snow, frost and sun for a year, the results obtained clearly showed that its hardness was not diminished, instead it was even somewhat increased.

### HEAT CONDUCTIBILITY:

Tarolit contains approximately 50% big and small closed up hollows filled with air which make it a very poor heat conductor. Comparing this material with similar Heraklit of about 0.065 to 0.080 kcal/mh<sup>0</sup>, Tarolit has about 15 times greater heat insulation than normal bricks. Moreover, because of the innumerable holes on its surface, this material has a great capacity for absorbing or accumulating heat, which is of great importance to the material used in the building of dwelling houses.

### ACOUSTIC CHARACTERISTICS:

The inside hollows and uneven surface create very favourable conditions for the prevention of sound transmission, especially in solving the most complicated acoustic problems.

### OTHER CHARACTERISTICS:

The structure of this material guarantees resistance against moisture, fire and insects. Since Tarolit does not contain any other compents except wood and cement, it cannot have any influence on other building material that come in touch with it, such as: iron girders, fittings, nails, sheets and so on.

It is well known that cement and concrete become harder with time. Hence one can expect the long durability of plates and of Tarolit elements, as well. Tarolit hold nails well, and it can be easy scraped, cut and drilled.

### APPLICATION:

Application in building is general and manifold; in different projects where it is necessary to keep a specially high or low temperature, for decorating cinema ceilings, theatres, studios and other halls, as well as in other buildings and dwelling houses, for partition and wall insulation.



The following table shows the standard sizes of Tarolit plates:

Dimension in cm	Cubic weight per 1 m <sup>3</sup> /kilos	Weight per 1 m <sup>2</sup> kilos	Average strength kilos/cm <sup>2</sup>	Average pressure %
200 × 50 × 1,5	550	8,3	18	6
200 × 50 × 2,5	480	12	16	7
200 × 50 × 3,5	440	15,4	15	7
200 × 50 × 5,0	420	21,2	15	7
200 × 50 × 7,5	410	30,5	14	7
200 × 50 × 10	400	45	12	6





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